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ART. I.—*Letters to N. Wiseman, D.D., on the Errors of Romanism in respect to the Worship of Saints, Satisfactions, &c.* By the Rev. W. Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford. Oxford: 1841-2.

WE are not about to enter upon any formal review of Mr. Palmer's general system of theology, or of such principles thereof as are brought forth and developed in the collection of pamphlets lying before us. For this more elaborate task sufficient time or space is not now at our command; our present object is more limited. In looking over these letters, so many instances of unauthorised assumption, of misrepresentation of Catholic principles and arguments, of bad and even foolish reasoning, struck us, page after page, that, on one hand, we did not think such a production should pass altogether unrebuked, and, on the other, it appeared to us that an exposure in mere detail of some of its numberless inaccuracies would form at once the easiest and most satisfactory, though to many of our readers perhaps not the most attractive, mode of dealing with the subject.

These letters are addressed directly to Dr. Wiseman, and, considering the nature of the topics discussed—these being doctrines and practices in which every Catholic is interested, as well as the bishop of Melipotamus—they partake a great deal too much of the tone of mere personal controversy. This, perhaps, may have been one of the reasons which induced his lordship to take no notice of any of them after the first. Whether we are right in this conjecture or not, we sincerely hope that Dr. Wiseman will not, for the time to come, allow himself to be seduced from pursuits of higher interest, and far more permanent and extensive utility, into

the irregular skirmishings of controversies half personal and half irrelevant, and altogether of passing and inferior importance. Far, far more grateful to Catholics, not only of these but of other countries, and of immeasurably more abundant and enduring benefit, would be the completion, promised in the preface to the large *Lectures on the Eucharist*, of those invaluable treatises on the leading topics of controversy between ourselves and Protestants,—on the argument for the real presence from tradition, on the rule of faith, the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of penance, and the rest. Since the promise alluded to was made, its fulfilment has indeed been rendered difficult,—perhaps, at present, impossible,—in consequence of the new dignity and, with it, new and overpowering cares and labours imposed on Dr. Wiseman's shoulders. We have wished—it may be there is something of selfishness in the wish—that more ordinary duties, by which only present good, however solid, is attained, would be consigned to ordinary hands, and that the means of finishing a work, which, beyond all doubt, no other man in the empire could execute so well, should be left freely and fully at his disposal. Such are our views and wishes, and we know them to be shared by men far wiser and more learned than we are ; nevertheless we express them with the most unfeigned deference to the sentiments of him whom they most concern, as well as of others to whom the ruling of such matters belongs. But of course, whatever we may desire or think, whatever undertakings Dr. Wiseman may be engaged in, or whether he be engaged in any, however thickly the swarm of conflicting errors and passions may rise from the abyss of Protestantism, and darken around our heads in this little corner of the Church, *Her* sublime destinies will continue to be fulfilled calmly, securely, as they have been from the beginning ; her power, and glory, and beauty, will continue to resist the influence of time and the attacks of her enemies. "She was before us, she will be after us, and she will last to the end of time."

We have a few brief remarks to premise. First. We readily subscribe to the sentiments contained in the following extract from Dr. Wiseman's *Lectures on the Eucharist* : "I will acknowledge the truth of what a modern French divine has convincingly proved,—that Catholic controvertists, especially in England and Germany, have greatly erred by allowing themselves to be led by Protestants into a war of detail, meeting them as they desired in partial combats for particular

dogmas, instead of steadily fixing them to one fundamental discussion, and resolving all compound inquiries into their one simple element—Church authority. But fully and cordially as I make these concessions, the state of controversy at the present day renders it necessary to treat these questions separately.”

Secondly. It does not follow that, because our great divines have sometimes made use of weak arguments in defence of any doctrine, therefore all the direct arguments in favour of it are weak. If we find an historian, like Hume, or Fox, or Sarpi, frequently stating falsehoods, and these too such as indicate the grossest dishonesty or negligence, we are at once warranted in rejecting their account of every occurrence which they may have had an interest in misrepresenting: their narrative *may be* elsewhere correct, but is not credible on their testimony alone.* The same principle does not apply to argumentative works. The force of an argument, as such, does not depend on the qualities, intellectual or moral, of the man who advances it. Facts are stated to be believed, arguments to be examined; and, according as they are sound or otherwise, the propositions they are brought to support are admitted or rejected. If a writer advances twenty distinct arguments in support of a proposition, nineteen of them may upon examination turn out to be mere fallacies; yet the proposition is not disproved so long as the remaining twentieth is unanswered. All this is very obvious indeed: yet in controversies, especially those carried on for party purposes and addressed to the multitude, no other principle of fair argumentation is more disregarded,—and consistently enough if the writer or speaker takes the point in dispute for granted, or if his object be merely to strengthen men's prejudices and inflame their passions.

That the best of our Catholic theologians have sometimes mistaken the true meaning of a text of Scripture, or of passages from the fathers; that many of their arguments are not proof against *every* objection; and that many are intrinsically unsound, either from defect in form or from the assumption of false principles, we do not deny. The causes of this are: 1. The natural infirmity and shortsightedness even of the most acute mind. 2. Most of our more voluminous divines heap together on particular questions all sorts of

* “What does a liar gain by his lying? Not to be believed when he tells the truth.”

arguments having any degree of probability, with a view perhaps to adapt themselves to different minds and to every grade of incredulity, from the first stirrings of doubt to the most unbending obstinacy. An argument that might not weigh as a feather in turning the balance of Mr. Palmer's judgment, might possess an overpowering influence on some more candid or less penetrating mind. In many cases an argument which approaches nearest to perfect demonstration, could not in its full force be made intelligible to the ignorant and unreflecting; and to them therefore it must be presented shorn of much of its strength, or its place occupied by another more level to common, but less satisfactory to higher, understandings. 3. Sometimes a number of arguments are advanced in support of each other. This will happen in moral proof: many circumstances are brought together, each of which would not, of itself, much avail, but all viewed in connexion present an array of evidence not easy to be resisted. 4. Sometimes arguments are embodied in the course of proof, whose aim is mainly indirect, viz. to anticipate objections. 5. Sometimes arguments are advanced not for the purpose of confounding opposition, but of developing truth and confirming belief. And, lastly, since the days of Bellarmine, and even of Tournelly, nay, since our own early days, the ground of controversy has been very much shifted. The very doctrines now surrendered to us, are those which, twenty years ago, we were engaged in defending. The question was not then whether the bread is changed into the body of our Lord, so that its substance ceases to exist in the sacrament of the Eucharist, but whether the body were really present there at all. The question was not whether the English sects or any one of them formed a *part* of the true Church, but whether the Catholic were even *a* true Church. Now we willingly admit that on the doctrine in question, as on many others, arguments are advanced by our greater as well as by our lesser divines, which we by no means look upon, which their authors never meant, as decisive against a Protestant of Mr. Palmer's school. All these considerations it would be easy further to develop and illustrate by examples, but thus briefly to allude to them is enough for our purpose.

Third. The Catholic doctrine, *e. g.* on Satisfaction, comprises several distinct points. A proof is frequently brought by our divines, amid the general mass, which does not establish, and is not designed to establish, more than one of these points. The importance of keeping this principle in view will appear as we proceed.

We have said that, in examining Mr. Palmer's *Letters*, we prefer to follow his steps in detail. Of course we do not propose to pursue him through all his digressions and declamations and repetitions. Our object is barely to vindicate, according to our small power, the principal arguments for the Catholic doctrine which he has attacked, to expose his misrepresentations, wherever it may be necessary for our purpose to do so, and to exhibit the extreme, the childish imbecility—for so we must characterise them—of his own proofs for the Protestant doctrine. We therefore at once commence with his remarks on the Scriptural proofs adduced by Tournelly and Bellarmine in support of our doctrine.

The points—as far as our present inquiry is concerned—admitted or disputed between ourselves and Protestants on the question of Satisfaction, may be thus briefly stated :

1. We say that when sin is remitted, the eternal punishment also is remitted.

2. In baptism, together with the sin, the punishment, both temporal and eternal, is remitted.

3. God could, if he so willed, remit in every case the temporal as well as the eternal punishment, together with the guilt of sin.

4. We do not deny that in some cases the temporal punishment is so remitted.

We suppose that Mr. Palmer thus far agrees with us. We hold moreover—

5. That sometimes, perhaps generally, there remains, after the remission of the sin and of the eternal punishment, a temporal punishment to be endured in this life or in the next.

6. This temporal punishment may be sometimes redeemed by penitential works, voluntarily undertaken by ourselves, or imposed on us by the priest in the administration of the sacrament of penance, or by our patiently enduring the calamities of this life.

7. We do not deny that in some cases (as in that of David) the particular temporal punishment to be endured in this life has been absolutely defined by God ; and, in such cases, though we may of course undergo other penances, we cannot thereby avert *this*.

The first argument is from Tournelly ; it is given at length by Mr. Palmer (p. 24) :—

“ The example of David (2 Kings [Samuel] xii.) is especially remarkable. For although Nathan had heard from the prophet

(v. 13), 'The Lord also hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die,' he immediately adds, 'Howbeit, because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die;' and verse 10, 'Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thine house; because thou hast despised me, and hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife.' God remits on one side the guilt and *eternal punishment*; but on the other he requires *temporal punishment* as well from the son as the father himself, not merely for the discipline and amendment of David, and the example of others, as the innovators, and especially Daillé, commonly reply, but also for the punishment and chastisement of pardoned sin. 'Because by this deed thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme.'.....'Because thou hast despised me,' saith the holy context; which particle *because* denotes that the *sin* of David was the real *cause* of all the evils which he suffered, and not merely their *occasion*, as Daillé cavils: for with what more significant terms could Scripture have expressed the cause."—*Tournelly, De Penit.*

On the preceding argument Mr. Palmer thus comments:—

"It is obvious that God, by Nathan, remitted the extreme punishment which was due to David's sin, 'Thou shalt not die,' and that at the same time he imposed a lesser temporal punishment for his sin, 'The child that is born unto thee shall surely die.' But I must deny that this example furnishes any necessary proof that a similar mode of proceeding characterises the present dealings of God with us. A temporal penalty of some sort was necessary when God *visibly* interfered in the affairs of men. But now that his guidance is entirely spiritual and invisible, temporal penalties are no longer necessary in the same way; and had David lived under the Christian dispensation, his crime might not have involved such consequences when truly repented of. Under the former dispensation the case was widely different. Had the favoured servant of God, the chosen pastor of God's people, been permitted to commit most grievous and *scandalous* sins, without any visible signs of God's indignation, the most fatal results would have followed. The justice of God would have been impugned. Sin would have been encouraged."

Thus far Mr. Palmer. Now it is clear from the sacred text cited above, and Mr. Palmer admits, 1st. that David's sin was pardoned; 2d. that after this pardon a lesser temporal punishment was inflicted *for the pardoned sin*. To admit thus much in the plain sense of the terms is to admit the Catholic doctrine: for it is to admit that a temporal punishment is inflicted *for* a sin already pardoned—which is exactly

our doctrine. Yet the objection, if it means any thing, must mean that the punishment was not inflicted for the sin, *but* because a temporal punishment was then necessary, in order that the justice of God might not be impugned, and that sin might not be encouraged. In a word, Mr. Palmer must mean that the punishment was inflicted *EXCLUSIVELY* to deter others from following the example of David, &c., otherwise the principle of the objection is perfectly consistent with our doctrine and with Tournelly's inference from the text, as we shall hereafter show (*infra*, p. 284-5). Thus then we may, for clearness' sake, state distinctly the heads of the objection. First, the temporal calamity inflicted on David was not inflicted to punish his sin, but to deter others from the commission of a similar crime, &c. Secondly. It was necessary that some visible sign of God's indignation should be exhibited, 1, because God then *visibly* interfered in the affairs of men, and 2, because to allow the sin of David to pass unpunished would have been to encourage the commission of crime and to occasion God's justice to be impugned, in as much as David was the favoured servant of God and chosen pastor of God's people. Thirdly. In the Christian dispensation such punishment is not necessary, 1, because God's guidance is now entirely spiritual and invisible, and 2, because David's sin, if truly repented of, would not now involve the consequences above alluded to.

We have thus stated the objection as strongly and clearly as we could: we now beg our readers' attention to our answer.

First. The whole objection is made up of a tissue of the most gratuitous assumptions. God then visibly interfered in the affairs of men,—true: David was a favoured servant, a chosen pastor,—true: the people would have been scandalized had his sin been left unpunished,—perhaps they would: as we are not gifted with the *scientia media*, we can only guess; Mr. Palmer can do no more. But granting the truth of all these, and a hundred other facts or conjectures, what have they to do with the interpretation of the text before us? there is nothing of them *there*. They are not assigned as the causes of David's punishment, or in any way connected with it. That the punishment was inflicted merely to deter others, &c.,—that it was not inflicted as a punishment for David's sin,—that it was inflicted *because* God then visibly interfered in the affairs of men, are so many assertions for which there is not the smallest particle of evidence in the

text before us, or in any other text. If the Scriptures, if any other writings whatever, may be thus expanded and interpolated, if the meaning may thus be modified by the help of skilfully assumed hypotheses, there is no longer any possibility of reasoning from Scripture, or fathers, or councils, or documents of any kind; words, however precisely chosen or clearly arranged, may be made to mean any thing, or every thing, or nothing. We need hardly tell Mr. Palmer that it is thus rationalism (daughter of the Reformation) would relieve the sacred Scriptures of so many mysteries and miracles. The words of a text are, indeed, plain enough: but then they may be *accounted for* in such or such a way. Apply an hypothesis, and, if one be insufficient, imagination or fancy will yield another and another; and the result is some "comfortable doctrine,"—faith made easy.

Secondly. But the assertion that David was punished merely to prevent the scandal, &c. that would otherwise ensue, is not only gratuitous; it is directly contrary to the very words of the text. For, as Tournelly well remarks, in the extract given above, how could it be more clearly and strongly expressed that the sin of David was the cause of his punishment, than by saying, "*because thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, for this thing the child that is born to thee shall surely die.*" Mr. Palmer quotes this argument in the extract he gives from Tournelly: we wonder he did not think it worth while to make some effort to reply to it directly, whereas it is based upon the very words of the text, instead of amusing his readers with theories about the past and present dealings of God with men, &c., to which there is no allusion whatever in the text.

Thirdly. Let us admit, with Mr. Palmer, that God meant by this punishment to prevent the "fatal results that must have otherwise followed, that he meant it as a warning to the rest of the people; surely it does not follow that this was the *only* end God had in view. May not the same punishment be intended at once to satisfy the demands of justice—to repair scandal—to deter others from sinning? Was not the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah a punishment for the sins of their inhabitants? Was it not, just as well as the chastisement of David, designed as a lesson and a warning to the world? It is needless to multiply instances; the Scriptures abound in them. Are not the sufferings of the damned punishments for sin, in the most rigorous sense of the words? and are they not also an awful and salutary warning to us?

and is not this very motive—the fear of hell's torments—proposed to us by our Redeemer as a means of deterring us from the commission of sin? “Fear ye not them that kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him that can destroy both body and soul in hell.” (Matth. x. 28.) Perhaps Mr. Palmer would say that, in the instances quoted or alluded to, there is question only of punishment for sin unrepented of. Be it so. But the question now before us is whether what is a punishment for sin (forgiven or unforgiven), may not be also designed as a vindication of God's justice, a warning to others. In the case before us it is *expressly* stated that the punishment was inflicted as a chastisement for sin: that it was inflicted for any other purpose is not stated.

Fourthly. Mr. Palmer thinks that fatal results would have followed, under the old law, which would not now follow, from permitting David's sin to pass without any visible signs of God's indignation. We confess we cannot see any good grounds for this assertion. Did not the Jews, as well as we, believe in a future state of rewards and punishments? Did they not believe, as well as we, that, if the sinner sincerely repents of his sin, he will obtain pardon; if not, he will be consigned to everlasting torments? What necessity there was then, more than now, for the vindication of God's justice to punish sin in this life (since the Jews believed then, as Christians now believe, that it would be punished with endless torments in the next), we cannot see. Men of lively faith required not then, any more than now, visible signs to teach them that sin was the object of God's indignation: and they who are enslaved by their passions are, at all times, encouraged to sin on, by the example of profligacy among the chosen pastors of God's people.

Fifthly. But “a temporal punishment of some sort was necessary when God *visibly* interfered in the affairs of men.” Without entering into the question, how far the interference of God was then visible, it is enough to say, briefly, that this argument at most would only prove that, if *any* punishment were due, it should be visible. But the visible interference of God in men's affairs would not justify the inference that *a* punishment was due, in a case where *no* punishment whatever, visible or invisible, would be due if there were no such interference. Grant that a punishment was due, then, from God's visible interference, you may conclude that *that* punishment should be visible: you can infer no farther.

Sixthly. “But now,” continues Mr. Palmer, “but now

that his guidance is entirely spiritual and invisible, temporal punishments are no longer necessary in the same way." Undoubtedly the interference of God in the government of his Church is not now visible in the same way in which it was manifested under the old law. We have not now a series of divine legates gifted with extraordinary powers, to appoint kings, to change the succession, to denounce the impending vengeance of heaven, to predict far distant events. But, in the first place, Mr. Palmer cannot deny that there are visible interferences of heaven, from time to time, for the trial of virtue, for the protection of innocence, and the punishment of guilt; that the sins of nations and of their rulers are often visited with public chastisements. These scourges are not now, as of old, predicted and specified: we cannot, in many cases, trace particular visitations to their proper causes. But of the existence of such retributions every believing man is sufficiently convinced, to apprehend the punishment, before or after the commission of the crime. In the second place, we do not say that the punishment due now, as of old, to pardoned sin, must be visible, *i.e.* such that others will witness it as a *punishment* for sin. It may be invisible, unseen, unnoticed. The pains of purgatory are invisible, sacramental penances are private, the innumerable ills of life which try and purify the heart, and which may, according to the council of Trent, be borne as so many atonements, are, in far the greater number of cases, hidden, even hidden within the breast of the sufferer. Our doctrine is therefore untouched, even admitting Mr. Palmer's assertion; admitting that "the guidance of God is now entirely spiritual and invisible", admitting that "temporal punishments are no longer necessary in the same way". They are no longer necessary in the *same* way: it does not follow that they are no longer necessary in *some* way.

But we might have spared ourselves most of the trouble we have taken: for Tournelly's view of the text is admitted, nay maintained by an authority, which at least, in Mr. Palmer's eyes, will, we suppose, possess not a little of respectability and weight. The author of Tract 79, which is entitled *Against Romanism*, has "the almost incredible folly and wickedness to assert"* that—

"On his [David's] repentance, Nathan said to him, 'the Lord

* These are Mr. Palmer's words, which he employs in speaking of Catholic theologians. Letter II. p. 39.

also hath put away thy sin ; thou shalt not die, &c.,' (ut supra). Here is a perspicuous instance of a penitent restored to God's favour at once, yet his sins afterwards visited ; and it needs very little experience in life to be aware that such punishments occur continually, though no one takes them to be an evidence that the sufferer himself is under God's displeasure, but rather accounts them punishments even when we have abundant proofs of his faith, love, holiness, and fruitfulness in good works. So far then we cannot be said materially to oppose the Romanists [Catholics]."—*Tracts for the Times*, vol. iv. Tract 79, page 7.

Our remarks on Mr. Palmer's text have run too far—much farther than we anticipated at setting out. We therefore conclude by repeating that our primary and substantial objection to his interpretation is that it is a mere gratuitous gloss, without any foundation in the text or context, and that, *as far as* it is an objection, it directly contradicts the plain words of the text.

Mr. Palmer proceeds ;—

"From all this it is plain, that no inference can be deduced from the above passage in proof of your tenets. But, Sir, there is a doctrine clearly taught by this example, and by the subsequent conduct of David, which is fatal to your view. We learn from it, that such temporal penalties inflicted for sin *cannot be averted*. Was the threatened punishment of David averted by his prayers, fastings, tears, prostrations, and other works of "*satisfaction*"? No ! *The child died*. How vain therefore is it for you to imagine that such temporal penalties of sin can be averted ! Observe too, that when temporal punishments were afterwards sent to David in the case of Absalom, and of the numbering of the people, he did *not attempt to avert them* by any works of satisfaction. He submitted to the divine will, and his example is meant to teach us the duty of submission to all similar dispensations of God."—p. 26.

We reply : 1. That this text is adduced principally to prove that a temporal punishment remains after sin is remitted, not that this punishment can be averted. Tournelly proves the former point ; and we have already vindicated his argument. 2. We candidly confess that we had been hitherto of opinion that the second point could not be decidedly proved from this part of Scripture : on reading the paragraph just quoted from Mr. Palmer, we are very much disposed to change our opinion. Our reason is, David did not succeed in averting the punishment : granted. But he *tried* to avert it. Now if the temporal penalties inflicted for sin could not, in any case, be averted or changed, this invariable order of provi-

dence would have been known at least to some of God's people, and, if so, David surely would not have been ignorant thereof. David "the favoured servant of God, the chosen pastor of God's people." David, then, in seeking to avert the threatened punishment, sought for that which he *knew* could not be granted to him—sought to change a sentence which he *knew* to be absolute and immutable,—prayed for what he *knew* to be an impossibility. Can we suppose David to have acted so? And if we cannot, the inference is obvious. David would not have sought to avert the chastisement unless he knew that God *sometimes* changed such punishments.

"Observe too," writes Mr. Palmer, "that when temporal punishments were afterwards sent to David, in the case of Absalom, and of the numbering of the people, he did *not attempt to avert them* by any works of satisfaction." All we know for certain is, that at first David did not, in this case, attempt to avert the punishment. What were the motives of his conduct we can only *conjecture*. The choice of three punishments was offered to him: he accepted one; perhaps because he, this time, supposed from the circumstances that this was a case in which the punishment could not be averted, perhaps he thought the punishment sufficiently light. At any rate, the conduct of David on this occasion does not prove that temporal punishments cannot *in any case* or generally be averted: unless this be proved, nothing is proved against the Catholic doctrine. Mr. Palmer adds, "He submitted to the divine will, and his example is meant to teach us the duty of submission to all similar dispensations of God." A noble example, a wholesome lesson, no doubt, but we cannot see what Mr. Palmer would infer therefrom in reference to the question in dispute. If he means that the punishment was inflicted, or the example held out *only* to teach us the duty of submission—and with any other meaning we have nothing to do—then we beg most respectfully to ask him where he found this important information?

"Tournelly continues thus: 'In the same 11 Book of Kings (Samuel) c. xxiv, although God had pardoned David's sin, which he had committed in numbering the people, yet in verse 12, a remaining punishment is set forth to be discharged, and he is given the option of war, famine, or the plague.' (Tournelly, *ibid.*) On this argument I must observe, first, that there is no evidence whatever that God had *pardoned* David's sin. It is true indeed that 'David said unto the Lord, I have sinned greatly in that I have done; and now I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant: for I have done very foolishly.' But all we know of the result is, that God offered him the choice of three grievous penalties.

There is not any allusion to God's having pardoned his sin when the penalty was inflicted. Consequently this passage does not relate to the question before us. If it did, however, if David's sin had been pardoned when the prophet offered him the choice of war, pestilence, or famine, the conclusion would be fatal to your doctrine. *The punishment was inflicted*, and David, instructed by the case of Uriah, that such punishments *could not be averted by any works of satisfaction or penance*, submitted himself to the divine will."—*Letter II. p. 26.*

We reply: first, that though it is not stated, in *express* terms, that the sin of David was pardoned, before the infliction of the punishment, nevertheless we may fairly conclude so much from the words quoted by Mr. Palmer himself, "I have sinned greatly,—I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant,—I have done very foolishly." This language indicates deep and fervent contrition. The words here used by David, are certainly much stronger, much more expressive of profound contrition than are those used in chap. 12, "And David said to Nathan, I have sinned against the Lord," and yet these latter indicate a sorrow sufficient to wipe out the guilt of sin, for Nathan immediately adds: "The Lord also hath taken away thy sin." In truth, to represent a sinner as sincerely contrite for his sin, is to represent him, in other words, as absolved from its guilt. Sincere contrition every where in the sacred Scriptures brings with it pardon. Thus "I said I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord; and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin," (Psalm xxxi. 5). "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart." (Psalm xxxiii. 19). "But to whom shall I have respect, but to him that is poor and little, and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my words." (Isaais lxvi. 2), &c. &c. That David's contrition in the present instance was sincere, we suppose no one will presume to question. 2ndly. To the observation in the latter part of the paragraph we have already given the principle of solution, namely, that this text is not brought to prove that the temporal punishments due to sin forgiven may be averted, but that they *are* due. We have only to notice the "incredible"—we shall only call it presumption of Mr. Palmer in filling up the Scripture narrative by utterly unauthorised assertions of his own. Where did he learn that David did not seek to avert the punishment, *because* he had been instructed by the case of Uriah, that such punishment could not be averted?—for such is the meaning of his words, "and David instructed, &c. &c., submitted himself to the divine will." To such interpolations, if introduced

without any ulterior view, *e.g.* for the purpose of further developing and enforcing some *admitted* or *proved* interpretation, we would not object. But to introduce a clause, for the purpose of founding an argument thereon, is a sort of proceeding which Mr. Palmer would be likely to characterize in a Catholic divine as a piece of "incredible folly and wickedness:" *we* are disposed to look upon it in *him* as merely the result of too ardent a zeal in a bad cause.

"I return to Tournelly. 'In the 14th chapter of Numbers, the Lord was angry at the murmuring of the people, and was so appeased by the prayer of Moses as to say, (ver. 20) 'I have pardoned according to thy word;' yet adds, (ver. 22) 'All these men who have seen my glory and my miracles which I did..... shall not see the land.' " (Tournelly, *ibid.*) In this case it was obvious, that the 'pardon' granted by God did not imply the forgiveness of the *sin* committed, and the justification of those who had committed it, for He speaks of the congregation as those that 'have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice,' (ver. 22); 'them that provoked me,' (ver. 23); 'this evil congregation who murmur against me,' (ver. 27). He says, 'your little ones.....shall know the land which ye have despised,' (ver. 31). 'Each day for a year shall ye bear your iniquities,' (ver. 34). 'I the Lord have said, I will surely do it unto all this evil congregation that are gathered together against me,' (ver. 35). Such is the language of God to the congregation *after* he had 'pardoned' them, (ver. 20). And it is plain therefore that this pardon was not a remission of *their sin*, but a remission of the *immediate destruction by pestilence*, and the *disinheritance* which God had threatened. (ver. 12), the temporal punishments then with which they were visited, were not punishments of *sin remitted*—punishments of the *justified*. They were chastisements of unbelieving and impenitent sinners. Is this the interpretation of unaided human reason? Is it not the interpretation of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, when speaking of those who fell in the wilderness in consequence of the divine decree, he says, 'to whom sware he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that *believed not*? So we see that they could not enter in because of their *unbelief*;' (Hebrews iii. 18, 19). And is it this *unbelieving*, this *impenitent*, this *evil* congregation, that you would hold up as a proof that temporal penalties are inflicted on the *believing* and *justified*?"—*Letter II.* p. 28, 29.

We reply: first, Mr. Palmer says it is plain that the pardon granted by God "was not a remission of their sin, but a remission of the immediate destruction by pestilence, &c." Now the very reverse is plain. God did pardon the sin, and though he remitted the punishment of immediate destruction,

he did inflict a punishment—another, less grievous indeed, but still a temporal punishment after the remission of the sins. That he remitted the sin is clear, from ver. 20: “I have pardoned *according to thy word*,” that is, manifestly, according to the terms, the purport of the prayer of Moses immediately preceding. Now what was the language, the scope of Moses’ prayer? Did he pray merely for a remission of the punishment? “And Moses said to the Lord, that the Egyptians, &c.....Let then the strength of the Lord be magnified as thou hast sworn, saying: the Lord is patient and full of mercy, taking away *iniquity* and *wickedness*.....Forgive I beseech thee the *sins* of this people, according to the greatness of thy mercy.....And the Lord said I have forgiven *according to thy word*.” God pardoned according to the word of Moses: but the word of Moses contained a prayer as much for the pardon of the sin as of the punishment. Therefore the pardon extended to the one as well as the other. Nay, in the second place, the pardon of the sin was complete, the remission of the punishment was rather a commutation of a more, to a less grievous one. “And the Lord said, I have forgiven according to thy word.....But yet all the men that have seen my majesty, &c.....shall not see the land for which I swore to their fathers, &c.” They should not perish immediately—a remission of the threatened punishment: but they should never enter the promised land—the substitution of a less severe one.

2ndly. Mr. Palmer’s grounds for asserting that the sin was not remitted are exceedingly weak. The sin was not forgiven, because even after the words used in ver. 20, God speaks of the Israelites as persons who “have tempted,—provoked him,—not hearkened to him,—an evil congregation, &c.” We are ashamed to waste words in telling Mr. Palmer,—for we are sure very few of our readers will require to be told, that these expressions were applicable to the Jews justified, as much as if they had not been justified. They *did* tempt God, provoke him, &c.: it does not follow that they *now* tempt or provoke him. God might have said of St. Paul, after his conversion, as indeed St. Paul said of himself, that he was a persecutor of the Church; and yet he was not still a persecutor and in a state of sin. The only thing that could give the least appearance of weight to the objection is that the Jews were called an “*evil congregation*,” as if they continued, even after the pardon, in a state of sin. But the words obviously express the character, the prevailing dispositions of the people. A people who had received such long

continued and countless graces, and nevertheless relapsed so frequently into the most abominable sins; even though pardoned and justified from time to time, even though at this moment justified, might well be characterised by this appellation. But Mr. Palmer, taking for granted that there is no such thing as satisfaction required for sin remitted, and finding that the Israelites were still reproached with their past ingratitude, and subjected to punishment, concludes at once that their sin remained unpardoned.

3. The objection drawn from the Epistle to the Hebrews is sufficiently answered by what we have already said. They *were* unbelievers; but they ceased to be so, for their sins were pardoned. (Numb. xiv. 20.) We are glad, however, that Mr. Palmer has directed our attention to the passage from St. Paul. That the sin of the Jews was pardoned, that nevertheless they were punished, and that the punishment was inflicted on account of the sin thus pardoned, are so many points abundantly demonstrated from Numbers; but the third point is stated so clearly and expressly by St. Paul, as to preclude the possibility of cavil. The apostle tells us "they could not enter *because* of their unbelief;" he tells their punishment and the grounds of it, and he assigns but one cause—their unbelief. Mr. Palmer perhaps will say that God then visibly interfered in the concerns of men, or that the consequences might have been very serious if, &c. But St. Paul, whose knowledge was limited to the facts of the case, says nothing of such matters.

On Mr. Palmer's objections to the three remaining arguments from Tournelly we shall not dwell. We do not look upon these arguments as very decisive; they furnish grounds, however, for the solution of difficulties against our doctrine, and so far have a negative force; it is possible that Tournelly did not intend they should have more. (See our remarks, *antè*, p. 280.) We shall hereafter have occasion to make use of principles furnished by them, in our comments on one of Mr. Palmer's leading proofs, in Letters the Second and Third. While we admit thus much—if indeed we admit anything—we must say that our opinion of the force of these arguments is not formed on the strength of Mr. Palmer's objections. On the contrary, we might easily point out several inaccuracies in his remarks, especially in those on the argument from Tobias: but, as this would be foreign to our purpose, we pass on. With Mr. Palmer's sophisms and exegetical blunders we have nothing to do, where the Catholic truth or the true grounds thereof are in no wise involved.

"He [Bellarmine] argues, 'that *death itself* is often inflicted as the penalty of sin, even after its guilt has been remitted,' from Genesis ii., 'in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;' and Romans v., 'By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned.' Death then is the punishment of original sin, and yet the guilt and eternal penalty of original sin is remitted by baptism. Thus all men suffer temporal penalties for sin remitted."—*Bellarmin. de Pœnit.* lib. iv. c. 2.

"In reply to this we must fully admit, that death is the penalty of *original sin*; but we deny that any argument can be drawn from this to prove that temporal penalties are inflicted on *actual sins* after they have been pardoned. For if all men suffer death for original sin, it is for the sin of Adam imputed to them, and not for any sin committed *by themselves*. So that sins which *we ourselves* commit, may be free from any temporal penalties after their remission. All then that can be collected from the fact alleged by Bellarmine, is that God *might, if he pleased*, inflict temporal penalties on our actual sins after they were remitted. This we fully concede in the abstract, though we do not conceive it consistent with the actual scheme of redemption. But the question is, whether *He has really made such a regulation*, and there is no proof here that he has done so."—*Letter II.* p. 31, 32.

1. This argument proves, according to Mr. Palmer's own admission, "that God might, if he pleased, inflict temporal penalties on our actual sins after they were remitted." His principle (the extreme inaccuracy of which we have to consider by and by) advanced in *Letter III.* p. 13, &c., cannot be reconciled with the admission made here. For, if God *might, if he pleased*, inflict temporal punishment on *our* actual sins, even after the remission of them, the infliction of such punishment is not inconsistent with his "infinite love and mercy for us" (*Letter III.* pp. 17, 18); for, if it were, God *could not* inflict them. But waiving, for the present, any further development of this consideration—

2. If we are punished for original sin, even after the remission of it, whereas we did not commit this sin ourselves, how much more, we would naturally conclude, ought not our actual sins, *i. e.* which we have committed ourselves, to be punished? Can any two doctrines harmonize better together than that which Mr. Palmer admits and that which he denies? and would not any unprejudiced mind at once infer the second from the first—unless something to the contrary were expressly stated in God's word, or legitimately inferred therefrom? *Thus far*, it is true, the doctrine could not be defined

of Catholic faith,—for faith is grounded not on such inferences *from* the word of God, but on the word itself: but the argument goes far to strengthen—if additional strength they needed—the others already discussed. But—

3. The sin *was actual*, at least, in Adam and Eve. In them, at least, there was an actual sin remitted and afterwards punished. "But," says Mr. Palmer (p. 34, note), "it must be remembered, that in this case God was bound by his own positive *promise*, 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' God is not bound by any similar promise under the Gospel to inflict temporary penalties, or death, for our sins. Consequently the punishment of Adam proves nothing." It proves, at least, *something*; for it proves that punishment inflicted, and inflicted *as* punishment for sin already pardoned, is not inconsistent with the mercy, or love, or any other attribute of God. Now this is something, and, attending to the principles of Mr. Palmer, already alluded to, a great deal. But yet further. All that would, at the utmost, follow from the circumstance of the promise, is that God is not bound by *it* to punish *us*, as Adam was punished. But this admission affects not the validity of the argument, which does not rest on any promise contained in this text in reference to us, but on the *fact* of Adam's punishment. Adam sinned, was pardoned, and afterwards punished for that very pardoned sin. Now God does not *punish* either the sinner or the justified, Adam or any of his posterity, beyond his or their deserts; and yet he, though justified, was punished. We may assume that the justice of God is uniform in the punishment of those who deserve punishment alike, where nothing to the contrary appears: that, of two sinners, he will not punish one with severity and leave the other altogether unpunished—both having grievously sinned, both having been pardoned, and the repentance of both having been alike inadequate to efface, with the guilt, all the liability to punishment due to their sins. Now God punishes with great severity, and for but one sin, Adam the father of the whole human race, and others among the most favoured of his chosen servants, endowed, inspired, beloved by him so highly: and he inflicts *no* punishment, not the smallest, on others once pardoned, even though a hundred years had been spent by them in all the crimes the most depraved man is capable of devising and executing. Surely it does not require an *express* testimony of Scripture—even if such were wanting—to teach us the inconsistency of two such positions.

"Is all that is really contained in Scripture clearly stated, and may all that is but implied be rejected?" (*Newman on Romanism*, p. 181.) But God promised to punish in the case of Adam? True, and therefore the punishment was just. But he did not promise in other cases? There was no necessity for an *express* promise, or rather threat irrevocable. We see and read the promise, in the conduct of God towards man, from Adam to Moses, from Moses to David downwards, too distinctly to mistake, if we are not willing to mistake, the order of God's providence with regard to all. Is not the will of God as clearly conveyed to us when he furnishes the *example* as when he states the *rule* or the *doctrine*? Do not the examples of Magdalen, of the good thief, as clearly as forcibly teach us that God ever pardons the truly penitent, however great his crimes, as his own explicit declaration to that effect? Nay, we would even say that example, for the great mass of men, is the clearer and more striking revelation of the two.

"Another argument is deduced from the penalty awarded to Moses and Aaron for their sin at the water of Meribah, when God declared to them that they should not enter the promised land. (Numbers xx. 12.) And accordingly Aaron died in Mount Hor (v. 28), and Moses in Mount Nebo (Deut. xxxiv. 5); yet no one will deny that Moses and Aaron were restored to the favour of God after their sin at Meribah."—*Bellarmin. de Pœnit.* lib. iv. c. ii.

"To this it may be replied, that as Moses and Aaron had not believed God 'to sanctify him in the eyes of the children of Israel' (Numb. xx. 12), and had thus *publicly* offended against God, it was essentially necessary that some mark of divine displeasure against their sin should be inflicted; because God at that time ruled his people by a system of temporal rewards and punishments, and guided them in a direct and visible manner. But under the Christian dispensation he no longer does so, and therefore sins equal to that of Moses need not necessarily be visited by temporal penalties; the justice and sanctity of his government no longer demand any such dispensations. The conduct of Moses and Aaron, however, concur to prove what is fatal to your view, for they did not seek to *avert* the threatened penalty in any way, and the penalty itself was strictly and literally exacted."—*Letter II.* p. 33.

Here we have a repetition of the same idle and groundless conjectures, by which Mr. Palmer, as we have already seen, has so vainly laboured to evade the force of the argument from the punishment of David's sin. (See *ante*, p. 283.) The same plain and unanswerable principle we used on that occa-

sion, applies here. Mr. Palmer's account of the matter we have just quoted ; the sacred history gives us the following account. It tells us that the punishment was inflicted for the sin, "BECAUSE you have not believed me to sanctify me before the children of Israel, you shall not bring these people into the land which I will give them." (Numb. xx. 12.) And again, "Let Aaron . . . go to his people, for he shall not go into the land which I have given to the children of Israel, BECAUSE he was incredulous to my words," &c." (*ibid.* 24.) And again, "Go up into this mountain . . . When thou art gone up into it, thou shalt be gathered to thy people, as Aaron thy brother died in Mount Hor . . . BECAUSE you trespassed against me in the midst of the children of Israel," &c. (Deut. xxxii. 49, 50, 51.) The Scripture is very explicit in assigning three several times one cause, and but one: and as we have no other record of these events, Mr. Palmer will pardon us for withholding our assent to his "additional information."

We have now come to the last pages of the second letter. We are impatient to pass on to the third and fourth; but there yet remain one or two specimens of Mr. Palmer's mode of stating the opinions of Catholic divines, and of stating the most absurd inferences quite as coolly and dogmatically as if they were so many admitted axioms.

Taking for granted that his preceding cavils had set the question at rest for ever, as far as Scripture is concerned, he excuses himself from entering forthwith upon the discussion of passages quoted from the fathers by Catholic theologians, "because," he adds, "if you are *manifestly* devoid of any Scriptural proofs for your doctrine, it cannot, according to the doctrine laid down by Veron, Bossuet, and many of your most eminent theologians (in accordance with the whole body of the fathers), be any *article of faith*; and consequently," &c. (*Letter II.* p. 35.) Mr. Palmer has not referred us to the work of Bossuet in which this startling doctrine is put forward. He gives us, however, the words of Veron: "Two things must be united, in order that any doctrine should be an article of Catholic faith; one, that it be revealed of God by [revealed by God through] the prophets, apostles, or canonical authors; the other, that it be proposed by the Church." We wonder that one versed, as Mr. Palmer appears or wishes to appear to be, in the writings of our divines, should mistake or misrepresent words so plain concerning a doctrine so plain and so commonly known. Is it possible

that he is, up to this day, ignorant of one of the most notorious points in our doctrine of the rule of faith,—that nothing indeed which has not been revealed through the prophets, &c., can become an article of Catholic faith, but that many things were revealed to them which are not contained in Scripture? All that was revealed to the prophets, &c., was not therefore committed by them to writing: some part thereof is conveyed to us by Scripture, some by tradition; the articles proposed to us by the Church, to be believed by us as of faith, are gathered from one or the other or from both. “Nous recevons avec une pareille vénération tout ce qui a été enseigné par les apôtres, soit par écrit, soit de vive voix.” (*Bossuet Exposit.* § 18.)

“Now if Divine *justice* still remains to be satisfied after the remission of sin, it must require what is *in justice* due to sin, that is eternal punishment, and consequently the remission of sin is, according to your own doctrine, a mere name. So that your doctrine is absolutely subversive of its own foundation,” &c.—*Letter* 11. p. 37.

This is in Mr. Palmer's most terrific style; but a breath dissolves the immense bubble. God remits the eternal punishment due to sin, and remits it on condition that a temporal punishment be undergone. The eternal punishment *was* due to God's justice, but God remitted it: he imposes another and lesser, and that *is* due in justice until it is remitted. A man owes me a hundred pounds; I remit the whole sum, imposing on him, at the same time, an obligation of performing some small work for me. No, says Mr. Palmer, such a proceeding would subvert its own foundation; you must remit, without right to any further exaction. There was an eternal punishment due to Adam's sin; that punishment was remitted with the sin; a temporal punishment was imposed, “*Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, &c. . . . cursed is the earth in thy work,*” &c. Was not Adam bound *in justice* to undergo the eternal, and, that remitted, the temporal punishment?

“And besides this, Divine *justice*, which demands an *infinite* punishment for sin, cannot receive any finite or limited punishment in part payment of the debt due to it.”—*Ibid.*

Divine justice demands an infinite punishment, until the sin is remitted; when the sin is remitted, an infinite punishment is no longer due.

Besides, the temporal punishment is not in *part* payment

of the debt due to justice ; it is a *full* payment of all that is *now* due.

" It [Divine justice] demands an infinite punishment, a punishment not made up of parts," &c.—*Ibid.*

Yes, as long as the sin is not forgiven. When the sin is forgiven it demands a temporal punishment, which is not a *part* of the eternal punishment, but a distinct one imposed in place of the eternal, now remitted. If a man were condemned to the treadmill daily for twelve months, and this heavy punishment were remitted, and a *somewhat* lesser one imposed, of spending twelve days in reviewing a heap of arguments half nonsense half absurdity, the latter punishment would not be said to be a part of the former. Much less can a few hours, or days, or years, of suffering in this life, or in purgatory, be said to be a part of our eternity of suffering in hell.

" To imagine therefore that the punishment due to Divine and infinite *justice* for sin, can be divided or separated into eternal and temporal, and that *temporal* and eternal punishments *together* satisfy the justice of God, is as absurd as it would be to imagine that a grain of sand, *together with the universe*, make up infinity."—*Ibid.*

Temporal and eternal punishment, as distinguished from each other, one due for sin forgiven, the other for sin unforgiven, do not *together* satisfy the justice of God. The temporal satisfies for sin forgiven, the eternal for sin unforgiven.

A grain of sand may be compared to finite duration ; for both are, *in genere suo*, finite ; but the universe, for the opposite reason, cannot be compared to endless duration—except in poetry. We wish Mr. Palmer would put his poetical arguments into verse, that we might be able to distinguish them from the others.

" It is to suppose that infinite *justice* can require what is, in comparison, less than the least of things (?), *in addition* to an infinite penalty."—*Ibid.*

Infinite justice does not require for sin forgiven a temporal *in addition* to an infinite penalty, for it does not require an infinite penalty at all. But we abuse the patience of our readers, and degrade the dignity of theological discussion, by seriously replying to such insane drivellings as we have just quoted.

" But Divine justice has received an adequate sacrifice. The

merits of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, were equal to the demands of Divine justice, and they were accepted. Henceforth the *justice* of God was appeased; and it has no claims on those to whom the infinite merits of Christ have been applied by true repentance," &c.—*Letter II.* p. 38.

This is the old—old, threadbare objection, which has been so often refuted. The infinite merits of Christ are applied to wash away the sin and the eternal punishment, but not all the temporal punishment. The infinite satisfaction of Christ does not save the sinner, unless applied to him: otherwise all men would be justified, for the Redeemer died for all. The merits of the great atonement must therefore be applied to us; and, of course, God can apply them, under whatever conditions, to whatever extent he pleases. *Are* they so applied as in every case to take away, with the sin and eternal punishment, all temporal punishment? This is a question of fact as to God's positive will, which can be decided only by reference to His revelation; and the true solution has been, we think, quite satisfactorily set forth in the preceding pages.

But hear the author of Tract 79 (already quoted) on this point:—

"They [the Catholics] on the other hand agree with us in maintaining that Christ's death *might*, if God so willed, be applied for the removal even of those specific punishments of sins, which they call *temporal* punishments, as fully as it really is for the acceptance of the *soul* of the person punished, or the removal of eternal punishment. Further, both parties agree, that *in matter of fact it is not so applied*; the experience of life shows it, &c..... As far as this then we have no violent difference of *principle* with the Romanists [Catholics]."—*Tracts for the Times*, vol. iv. Tract 79, p. 7.

After many words, which would take up too much space to quote, Mr. Palmer concludes by giving the sum of another difficulty thus: "According to your doctrine, the pardoned and justified believer is still liable to God's wrath! The adopted, beloved, and sanctified child, is still subject to God's vengeance!"—p. 41.

1. There is an ambiguity in the words "wrath," "vengeance," which Mr. Palmer dexterously avails himself of. In our language the words imply a feeling of hatred, aversion, or the like: with our theologians, on the present question, they merely imply *punishment*. So that when it is said a justified sinner is liable to God's wrath,—vengeance, it is not

meant that he is an object of aversion, hatred, &c., but that he has to undergo a certain punishment.

2. Mr. Palmer must admit that we *are* liable to temporal afflictions, disease, poverty, death, &c. Call them signs of love, mercy,—call them what you please,—they are to us painful, and we feel them as such, though we may suffer them with resignation and joy, for the sake of Him who sends them. How it is that suffering these *as* punishments for past sin, can, in any way, interfere with our being “adopted, beloved, and sanctified children,” any more than suffering them as trials, testimonies of the sincerity of our love, &c., we cannot in the least degree comprehend. We suffer the pains of this life, when we have no sins to atone for, because God so wills it; we suffer the same pains, or undergo others, as an atonement for our past sins forgiven, because God so wills it. But *is* this God's will? *That* is the real question to be examined; and that we have already resolved from the word of God himself.

“[According to your doctrine] God loves and hates, saves and destroys, at the same moment; and the same beings are at once reckoned with the elect and the reprobate, with angels and with devils! Can it be possible for absurdity, contradiction, and impiety to go beyond this?”—*Ibid.*

We are heartily sick of this bastard rhetoric. Here are three or four lines containing as many of the grossest misrepresentations,—flimsy clap-traps,—well fitted indeed for the meridian of Exeter Hall, but not at all suited to the lips of a man of Mr. Palmer's pretensions to accuracy and learning and fair play. God loves and saves, but he neither hates nor destroys the repentant sinner: he only inflicts a punishment so light as not to be thought of in comparison with what the sinner would have deserved had he remained in his sin. A nobleman is guilty of high treason, and is sentenced to the death of a traitor. The sovereign grants him his life and restores him to favour, and imposes at the same time a fine of one shilling. Will any one say that the pardoned criminal is at the same moment loved and hated, saved and destroyed? No, but that the adopted and beloved child of God should be subject to God's vengeance, *that is*, to pains of a short duration, in bearing which he is assisted and comforted by God himself, so that the chalice which he tastes, bitter though it be to the palate of flesh, is to his soul sweet and consoling and invigorating, beyond anything this earth can give. This appears to Mr. Palmer, “absurdity, contradic-

tion, and impiety," beyond which it is not possible to go. For our parts, taught and disciplined by Her, in whom dwells the spirit of truth for ever, our Holy Mother the Church, we only pray that God may punish us here, and give us grace to bear *this* wrath and vengeance as we ought, that so we may escape the wrath and vengeance to come. "Hic ura, hic seca, hic non parcas, ut in æternum parcas."

Our strictures on Mr. Palmer's first letter have extended too far,—not too far, considering the extent of work that lay before us, the number of errors to be rectified, of sophisms to be exposed,—but too far for us to think of comprising, within the limits of a single article, even a summary revision of the two remaining letters. The utmost we shall be able to accomplish, will be to select from *Letter Third* what Mr. Palmer seems to consider as his strongest points.

After quoting some passages from Bouvier and Milner, on the necessity of penance, he thus proceeds:—

"Thus it appears, that even indulgences, and the execution of the works of satisfaction enjoined by your priests in confession, do not render you secure that sin has been remitted; and hence you recommend, in addition, *voluntary works of satisfaction*, over and above those prescribed by the priests."—*Letter iii.* p. 8.

"..... You are not certain that the temporal penalty due to divine justice for sin remitted, is removed by the performance of the satisfaction enjoined in confession, or by the subsequent acquisition of indulgences. No; you still urge the penitent to undertake voluntary works of penance; and, as no human wisdom can determine what amount of such acts may be sufficient to satisfy the demands of divine justice, it follows that, according to the doctrine of the Council of Trent, "the life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance."—*Ibid.* p. 10.

And, we would ask Mr. Palmer, are we not taught, both by precept and example, in every page of the sacred Scripture, the necessity, the importance, for the just as well as the unjust, of penitential works? "The life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance"! Truly, never was doctrine propounded, which the fathers who have enlightened, and the saints who have edified the Church, in all time, more strongly teach in their writings and in their lives. The constant exhortations to penance in the Gospel, the penitential psalms of David, the confessions of St. Augustine, need only be alluded to.

"You believe that notwithstanding that pardon [of sins], his [God's] wrath burns against you, and is so fierce, that if you are

not sufficiently tormented in this life, you must go into purgatory, and *suffer the torments of HELL* ! Yes ; you believe that God consigns those whom he has justified and sanctified, those whom he loves.....to the torments of hell ! 'The constant doctrine of the Latins,' says Bouvier, bishop of Mans, 'is, that in purgatory there is a material fire, like the infernal fire,' &c.—*Letter* iii. p. 12.

Here we have another specimen of Mr. Palmer's misrepresentation of our doctrine. One of the instruments of torture in purgatory, is like one of the instruments of torture in hell ; therefore, whoever goes into the torments of purgatory goes into the torments of hell ! This is Mr. Palmer's mode of drawing inferences. Let us try our unpractised hand at an imitation of this Palmerian logic. A man is confined in a dark dungeon : now there is darkness, like that of a dungeon, in hell (Mathew viii. 12.) ; therefore, a man who is confined in a dark dungeon, is consigned to the torments of hell ! Surely a deep knowledge of the doctrine of syllogism, or of any other doctrine, is not required to enable one to see the unsoundness of such reasoning. There is fire both in hell and in purgatory ; but in one, it is of brief, in the other it is of infinite duration. In hell there is an accumulation of torments ; the pain of sense and the pain of loss,—the latter, according to the opinion of Catholic divines, incomparably the greater of the two ;—and these without interruption, without end, without consolation, without faith, without hope, without charity ; with endless rage in the bosoms of the damned, and despair, and hatred of God, and of each other. On the contrary, in purgatory, the pain of loss is not an everlasting, hopeless privation, but only the delay of a little season,—momentary, if compared with the beatitude that is to succeed, and of the enjoyment of which the suffering souls are infallibly secure. The fire of purgatory is material, according to the prevailing opinion of the western Church ; but even thus much is nowhere defined of faith. As to the other torments, we know nothing. The souls in purgatory, according to St. Thomas, are not tormented by devils, as are the souls in hell : and as to the pains of fire itself, its degree of intensity, as compared with the pains of this life, is doubtful : we are free to hold that it becomes gradually less ; its duration is uncertain. In purgatory, the souls have faith, and hope, and charity ; they suffer with holy resignation ; they are incapable of offending God, even by the slightest sin ; they are assisted by our prayers : it is a common opinion of divines

that they pray for us. And yet Mr. Palmer, with these opinions of our theologians staring him in the face,—for he may find them in any ordinary treatises on the subject,—roundly tells us that we *believe* that the souls in purgatory suffer the torments of hell: WE BELIEVE EXACTLY THE REVERSE.

"This is the view which you uniformly take of the disposition of God towards penitent and pardoned sinners; you teach them still to tremble under the apprehension of his wrath."—*Letter* iii. p. 13.

See also extracts *ante* (p. 303): "Thus it appears," &c.; and "You are not certain that the temporal penalty," &c. (*Letter* iii. pp. 8 and 10.)

Mr. Palmer would here seem to insinuate, or rather he plainly *does* insinuate, that a man may enjoy perfect and absolute certainty as to his own justification; nay, that ordinarily this should be so. For he upbraids us with our want of security on this point; and if we cannot be secure without a revelation, it is natural and reasonable that we should, from time to time, entertain anxiety and trembling of soul, on an affair so important,—an affair *alone* important to us. But here again the Scriptures speak, as if with the sound of many voices, clearly and loudly against Mr. Palmer, and for us:—"Who can say, my heart is clean, I am pure from sin." (Prov. xx. 9.) "Man knoweth not whether he be worthy of love or hatred." (Eccl. ix. 1.) "Be not without fear about sin forgiven." (Ecclus. v. 5.) "I am not conscious to myself of anything, yet I am not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord." (1 Cor. iv. 4.) "Wherefore, brethren, labour the more, that by good works you may make sure your calling and election." (2 Pet. i. 10) &c. &c. The drift of these and other similar passages in the sacred writings is plain. We are yet *in viâ*, travellers journeying on to our home in heaven: *here* a cloud of doubt still hangs over us; *there* every tear shall be wiped from every eye; faith and hope, that guide and cheer us now, shall be lost in seeing and enjoying; and charity, and with it the security of possession, shall remain for ever.

"And when is this fear to be removed? when is the sinner to be at peace with God? when is he to look with joy and love to God, as a reconciled and loving Father? NEVER IN THIS LIFE."—*Ibid.*

This sentence may be thus corrected:—

* In these quotations we follow the Douay version.

"When is this fear to be removed? when is the sinner to be [absolutely secure that he is] at peace with God? when is he to look with joy and love to God [as possessing an infallible certainty that he is looking to him] as to a reconciled.....Father? Never [without a special revelation] in this life."

The pardoned sinner should always look with joy and love to God; but with a love that does not exclude sorrow for having once been the enemy of that God; with a joy not altogether unmixed with fear. "There is none above him that feareth the Lord. The fear of God hath set itself above all things: blessed is the man to whom it is given to have the fear of God: he that holdeth it, to whom shall he be likened? *The fear of God is the beginning of his love.*" (Ecclus. xxv. 13, 16.) Never are joy and peace,—the peace which surpasseth all understanding, and which the world cannot give,—more pure, more predominant in the soul; never is love more ardent, than when they are united with tears of deep contrition. According to Catholic divines, the most perfect contrition, is that which is perfected by charity, that which springs from the sole motive of the love of God, infinitely good and perfect; nay, an act of this perfect contrition is an act, a formal act—to use the language of the schools—of the perfect love of God. An act of perfect charity and contrition, for instance, is expressed in the following, or equivalent words:—"My God, I love thee above all things, because thou art infinite goodness and perfection; and because I love thee, I am heartily sorry for having offended thee." Oh! that Mr. Palmer, who has only touched with the extremities of his lips our doctrines, as they lie coldly on the surface of controversial works, would penetrate deeper, and drink of the theology of mind and heart, which the Church keeps ever fresh and open for all who thirst; then would these truths, which now seem so bitter to his taste, become sweet and invigorating, as they are to the children of the faith.

"Let me contrast with this dark and melancholy system," [Mr. Palmer's view of the Catholic doctrine] the consoling and joyful words of encouragement offered to penitents by Jesus Christ: 'Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and *I will give you rest.* Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find *rest unto your souls.* For my *yoke is easy, and my burden is light.*' (Matt. xi. 28-30.) Does your system afford *rest to souls*? Is your yoke *easy*, and your burden *light*?" &c. &c.—*Letter iii. p. 14.*

There is nothing dark or melancholy in the Catholic

doctrine; nothing which is not in exact accordance with the words of our Lord. We have not, it is true, the certainty of faith; we have not a certainty which excludes every shadow of doubt, as to our actual justification; but we may have a degree of certainty, of moral certainty, as it is called by some, of very high probability, sufficient to exclude extraordinary anxiety and deep trouble of soul: and this is the common, and, as far as we know, the universal opinion of Catholic divines. These agonizing terrors, that restless anxiety, of which Mr. Palmer speaks, are felt by those whose hearts are seized with thoughts of despair, or, perhaps, after a long course of crime, with feelings of salutary fear; or by those whose minds are weakened by natural causes; or, in some few cases, by those whom God has destined for an eminent degree of perfection, and whom (as we read in the lives of the saints), he ordinarily tries and purifies by the ordeal of internal desolation, for a time, or by external afflictions, as of calumny, disease, and the like. But for the rest, no Catholic, who has sincerely renounced the ways of sin, and made his peace with God, who has tasted of the heavenly gift, and guards against the dangers of relapse, by the usual means prescribed for this purpose by religion,—no such Catholic is haunted by dark and melancholy alarms. In meditating on the judgment of God, he fears indeed, and trembles, as he ought,—“*a judicii enim tuis tremui*,”—but his heart, as we have already remarked, hopes as strongly as it trembles, and loves as much as it fears. Mr. Palmer exhibits a caricature of Catholic doctrine and Catholic feeling, which is contradicted by every authorised exposition of our faith,—contradicted by experience. Let him, if he should ever visit the shores of poor, persecuted, Catholic Ireland, go into the first rustic chapel he meets, on a day of general confession, and he will see the living evidence of what we have been saying, a picture far more vivid than words, at least words of ours, could pourtray. He will see men and women silently issuing forth, after having confessed their sins and received sacramental absolution, with joy and peace in their looks, in their language, in their demeanour; he will read in their countenances a truer and more impressive commentary on the words, “I will give you rest: my yoke is easy, and my burden is light,” than all the doctors of Oxford, than all the doctors of Protestantism, with its barren and heartless creed, could ever supply. “My yoke is easy, and my burden is light”! Yes; and in the Catholic alone are these sweet

words verified : to him alone is it at once a *yoke* and *easy*, at once a *burden* and *light*. For you either take away the yoke and the burden, and then indeed every thing is easy and light; or you impose them, and then there is a yoke and a burden, but not those of Christ. You have forsaken and rebelled against his holy Church, in which alone are all the means of grace, whereby that yoke and that burden, in themselves so heavy,—so heavy to mere nature, so intolerable to flesh and blood,—are made light and easy to be borne. In Her alone are found thousands upon thousands who suffer, and who glory in their tribulations, who glory in the Cross of Christ, whose sentiments are like those of her great saints, who, in reference to sufferings, cried out, "Yet more, O Lord, yet more," "*aut pati aut mori*."

The difficulties, from Rom. v. 1, John iv. &c. (if difficulties they may be called, which difficulty have none), which Mr. Palmer (p. 14-18) urges with much declamatory vehemence, are at once solved by the principles laid down in the preceding pages. As to the text from Rom. v. 1-14:—"Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.....and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also...the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts...being justified now by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him," &c. &c. It is unnecessary to quote the whole passage, which is long; we have transcribed the parts specially noted by Mr. Palmer. It is enough to say, that the sinner who is justified, whether he has yet temporal punishment to undergo or not, "has peace with God," "rejoices in hope of the glory of God," "the love of God is shed abroad in his heart," he trusts (without having an *absolute* certainty), that he is justified by the blood of Christ, and trusts that he is, and hopes that he will be saved from wrath through him. No other sentiments have room in the Catholic's heart, no other language is intelligible to him. We wish we had space to devote to a more detailed exposure of the numerous blunders which Mr. Palmer falls into, in his commentary on this passage from the Epistle to the Romans. But to say more would be only to "slay the slain:" we must hurry to a conclusion.

"There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear; because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love.' (1. John. iv. 18.) The apostle does not mean to forbid that godly fear of future transgressions, which is necessary to preserve

a Christian from sin ; but he does most certainly assert, that the perfect love of God casts out all slavish fear, all dread of God's *wrath* and *vengeance* for remitted sin," &c.—*Letter* iii. p. 16.

We have already (ante p. 239), disposed of the formidable italics "*wrath, vengeance, anger*:" for the rest, the text from St. John is nothing to the purpose. 1. The apostle is speaking either of servilely servile fear (as the scholastics phrase it), of the fear entertained by those who love the sin, and only abstain from the commission of it, because they dread the punishment, or, at least, of immoderate and inordinate fear. 2. The fear,—the doubt which a man entertains, as to whether he is now in a state of grace, as to whether he has yet sufficiently satisfied for his past sins, is not inconsistent with charity, with the most perfect charity we can have *in this life*, any more than the fear of future transgressions, which Mr. Palmer himself admits is not forbidden here. The fear of God's judgments is, as we have already seen, recommended in the sacred writings, as well as charity. 3. Even admitting that charity expels every sort of fear, save the fear of hereafter offending God, nothing follows against our doctrine. For, it would only follow, that a man, while actually under the influence of this fear, could not make an act of charity. The heart may be at different times, under the influence of different feelings, supernatural as well as natural; one time awed by fear, another time inflamed with love.

We must here stop: our limits are more than filled up. But we think that we have said enough, and more than enough to convince any of our readers, that the "absurdities, contradictions, and impieties," which Mr. Palmer has charged upon the Catholic Church, and Catholic divines, fall back upon himself. We have, in our review of his objections against our Scriptural proofs, and his own Scriptural objections against our doctrine, seized the points which appeared to us the strongest; and we have not omitted to notice any thing which we believed worthy a reply. It was our intention, at starting, to examine his objections against the argument from tradition, and to examine his own proof for the Protestant doctrine, as he states it. A satisfactory examination of the first point would, we now perceive, swell our article to three times its present bulk: and we think Mr. Palmer will agree with us, that it were better not to touch upon the topic at all, than to treat it in a passing and hurried manner. As to his proof of the Protestant doctrine, it is not necessary for us to enter into an exposure of the inaccuracies with which it

abounds: for the proposition which he advances in the very commencement, with a slight explanation—nay, by understanding the words in the plain and natural sense of them, is perfectly consistent with our doctrine, or rather *is* our doctrine.

“The position, then, which I shall maintain against you is, that penitential works, such as fasting, almsgiving, weeping, and works of piety, are, together with contrition, and confession to God, means of obtaining the REMISSION OF SIN, and not merely the remission of its temporal penalties.”—*Letter* iv. p. 18.

This proposition we subscribe to: it is perfectly orthodox, as far as it goes.

It may be asked (and it has been suggested to us to anticipate the inquiry), why we have selected from the several topics discussed in the volume before us, that of satisfaction, rather than purgatory, indulgences, &c.?

Our answer is, that in undertaking to review Mr. Palmer's book, we naturally began with the beginning,—the doctrine of temporal satisfaction being the first which he formally and at length discusses.

A still stronger reason was suggested to us, by the great importance which Mr. Palmer attaches to the doctrine of satisfaction, as the root and foundation of so many other of our doctrines. Thus:—

“A vast body of your doctrines and practices to which we object depends altogether on one principle, which is, as it were, the foundation-stone, the very vital essence of the whole. I mean your doctrine of a debt still remaining due to Divine Justice after the remission of sin,—the doctrine of *temporal punishments*, &c.—*Letter* ii. p. 8.

“It is evident that your doctrine of *temporal punishment* is the very life-blood, the vital sap, the foundation, the key-stone of your system, on all these points. Take this doctrine away, and the whole machinery of your Church is broken asunder.”—p. 14.

ART. II.—*History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic, of Spain.* By William H. Prescott. Third Edition, revised, with additions. London: 1842.

EUROPE contains no nation so difficult to be understood by those who have not visited it, as Spain. In physical character, in the variety of its natural productions, in its scenery, in the dispositions and manners of its inhabitants,

in the circumstances by which the mental constitution of a great portion of those inhabitants was influenced from a very early period of their annals, in the variety of races by which the country has been and still continues to be occupied, and in its religious, moral, fiscal, and political history, it stands perfectly unique. Every part of the Continent has been trodden over and over again by thousands of travellers, except Spain. The want of sufficient internal communications, the almost uninterrupted wars, foreign or domestic, of which that portion of the Peninsula has been the theatre, the apprehensions as to personal safety, and the *unpoliced* condition of all the provinces, have deterred the great mass of tourists from extending their peregrinations beyond the Pyrenees.

It is true that we possess in our own literature, and may read in that of other communities, many interesting and excellent works upon Spain. Her native historians, philosophers, economists, dramatists, poets, and novelists, have also furnished us with much valuable information concerning the general aspect of the country, and the genius and customs of its people. With the exception, however, of some of its histories, and a very limited part of its miscellaneous and imaginative compositions, very little of its literature is known or valued beyond its own precincts. We know much more of Spain from the labours of its foreign visitors than from its domestic writers. But the amount of that knowledge, after all, is by no means sufficient to render us familiar with the peculiarities by which the Spanish nation is distinguished from all others within the circle of European geography. There are many traits in the face of the territory itself, and a great many more in the complexion, intellect, and, if we may use such a phrase, the whole personal moulding, temper, and bearing of its inhabitants, which escape observation, or, if perceived, are most frequently misunderstood by aliens who sojourn amongst them for a season. Their grave external deportment, the cloak and slouched hat of the men, the veil, the fan, and mantilla of the women, and their general indisposition to associate with foreigners, serve to confine within their own dwellings, that capability of intimate acquaintance with their sentiments and feelings, without the acquisition of which we can be said to behold them only through the disguises of a masquerade.

No epoch has yet arrived, in which history has been enabled to represent Spain as one united nation. It is at present, as it has been for ages, a nominal monarchy consist-

ing in fact of many kingdoms. In the early part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, it may be said to have been a state partly Catholic, partly Hebrew, partly Saracenic. Before the invasion of the Moors, every province was a state of itself, possessing its own laws and customs. Although the Moors ruled with a strong hand the territory which they had conquered, they did not materially interfere with the privileges which were exercised by the several provinces within their control. The northern districts, which they failed to subdue, were then, as they still remain, divided also into different provinces,—divided not by any acts of a general superincumbent authority, but by nature herself, and by the circumstances under which they were necessarily peopled.

High mountainous tracts have always kept, and still keep, the Asturians as a people completely within themselves. Similar barriers shut out the Biscayans from the rest of Spain. They speak a language not understood in Castile. They possess rights from an indefeasible prescription, which neither force nor persuasion has ever succeeded in getting them to surrender. They pay a revenue to the state, but it is under the designation of a tribute. They possess a form of government entirely their own, republican in its essence; and although they acknowledge the king of Spain as their sovereign, their allegiance is pledged, and formally received, only upon condition that their ancient rights and privileges shall remain inviolable.

The Navarrese and Arragonese are hemmed in also within their own mountain-boundaries, and have more affinities with the Provençale than the Spanish races. The Catalonians, with a ruder character, a rougher dialect, but an infinitely more manly and commercial spirit of industry and enterprise, have also much of the genius of the Troubadour mingled with their own. The Barcelonese and the Valencians partake of the imagination and effeminacy of the Italians. The tribes of Granada, Murcia, Malaga, Andalusia, and Cordova, retain deep traces of the Moorish blood. Estremadura is almost Portuguese. Galicia is the Bœotia of Spain. The provinces of the plains, the two Castiles and La Mancha, form the principal theatre of its civilization, and yield the best model of its language. And Leon leads an obscure existence within the lower ranges of the Sierra Morena.

The natural divisions of the territory, rendered still more permanent, as they are, by the imperfection of artificial communications, have created and fostered a mass of prejudices

between the inhabitants of the different provinces—especially those contiguous to each other—which are bitter beyond conception, and apparently impossible to be eradicated. An occurrence which forcibly illustrates the strength of those prejudices, and the readiness with which they are acted upon on all occasions, took place during the latter stages of the war against Don Carlos. The army under Espartero had made some prisoners—a hundred or more in number—who were natives of one of the Castiles. While the army was upon its march towards Catalonia, a division of Cabrera's troops from that province appeared at some distance; the prisoners, who had of course been previously deprived of their arms, immediately petitioned that those arms should be restored to them. "For what purpose?" asked the officer to whom they applied. "That we might assist you in shooting those infamous robbers the Catalonians," they replied: thus showing that although the Catalonians were fighting for the same cause which they had themselves espoused, the inveterate prejudices of the provincialist instinctively put to flight the sympathies of the soldier.

Much of the peculiar character of the Spaniards is derived from their climate, which is remarkably pure, and so replete with the elements of vitality, that life may be sustained in Spain upon a less quantity of solid food than is required for vigorous existence in other nations. Wine of a nutritious quality, and the best bread in the world, may be procured in almost every part of that country upon the most economical terms. Dried grapes, full of saccharine matter, may be seen spread out on nets suspended beneath the roof in every cottage. Upon such provisions as these, and a little soup—that is to say, water, oil, and onions—the Spanish peasant can live in all the luxury he requires. Death by starvation is a fatality with which he is wholly unacquainted. The friendly soil easily yields him the quantity of wheat, potatoes, onions, and other vegetables and fruits which he may choose to grow. Add to his food a cigar, and he cares not a *maravedi* about all the world beyond him.

The Spanish people are in fact the most apathetic of human beings. Even those civil wars, which we who read of them in England imagine must convulse the whole country, are carried on with so slight a degree of agitation, that a stranger may pass within a short distance of the antagonist forces without knowing that there is the slightest degree of commotion in the country. A few harmless discharges of

musketry exchanged on each side, whenever the adverse detachments chance to come within view of each other, and then the flight of one party, or of *both*, from the scene of amusement, constitute an *action*! We have ourselves been present at a grand battle, without knowing a syllable about it, until we read an account of it in a printed bulletin, which ended by declaring that "the factions were annihilated!" We saw a few shots fired, and heard at a distance what we conceived at the moment to be their echoes,—and this was the "terrible engagement!"

The Gascons must yield the palm for all the graces of exaggeration to the Spaniards. It is one of their characteristics, which they cannot conceal. Such is their pride, such their notions of high ancestry, and of national opulence, independence, and renown, that they feel thoroughly persuaded there are no people comparable to themselves, no country fit to be named in the same volume with their own upon the face of the globe. Confer a favour upon a Spaniard, and he feels that by accepting it he returns that favour a hundred fold. This pride pervades all classes, from the palace to the cottage. The lowest peasant can show you a pile of heraldic documents in proof of his noble descent. You will see the arms of his family emblazoned upon a stone inserted in the wall (often of mud) over his door.

Their soothing climate, their teeming soil, their consequent indolence, their native pride, and their apathy, all tend to give to Spaniards that sombre air, which at once strikes a foreigner who enters their country from Italy or France. He would be prompted at first to say that they were a people addicted even to melancholy; but he would eventually find such a conclusion erroneous. If he engage them in conversation he will speedily find them sufficiently clamorous. Nevertheless there is in the general character of the nation a strong disposition to reverie, if not to reflection, and to that disposition chiefly may be traced those free impulses which have led greater numbers of the male sex into monasteries in Spain, than in any other part of Christendom, the proportions of population being considered.

Their attachment to the Catholic faith is one of the very few points, upon which the inhabitants of all the provinces of Spain unanimously agree. They always constitute one people with reference to their religion. Summon them to a war in defence of that religion;—provincial distinctions are no longer known amongst them. Call them to defend

their country from a foreign invader ;—a similar result will ensue. But leave them without any such motives of community of action ;—each province remains isolated within itself, by nature, by prejudice, and by what its natives believe to be interest, as much as if it existed under a separate and peculiar crown. And here, in fact lies the whole difficulty of creating a strong government in Spain,—a difficulty which has in all times marked its history, but never, perhaps, was more conspicuous,—never certainly more perplexing, or rather intractable,—than since the modern form of Cortes has been attempted to be established in that country.

There is no doubt that from a very ancient date a representative assembly, usually designated under the appellation just mentioned, or in other words “states-general,” has existed in Spain ; and that subsequently to the suppression of the separate sovereignties either by conquest or by the accident of more than one crown being united by descent upon one head, each province sent deputies to that general council. But its attributes seem to have been limited to the voting of taxes for the use of the general government, and to matters connected with the descent of the regal power. It consisted usually of the nobility, prelacy, and deputies appointed by each state, and most commonly the deputies sat in a chamber apart from the other members of cortes. The number of the nobility and of the prelacy in the upper house seems to have been very much at the discretion of the crown, although the grandees and archbishops appear to have had a right of summons ; and it has been contended that without their presence, or their representation by proxy, no cortes could be deemed competent to issue any decree binding on the nation.

It was a very unusual circumstance for this assembly, or any portion of it, to enter upon the discussion of any matters connected with the ordinary course of public affairs ; not even with questions of treaties, or peace, or war. The settlement of the crown in cases of doubt, or of necessary alterations in the line of descent ; the recognition of heirs to the throne, the appointment of regencies when the incompetency of the reigning sovereign, or the minority of the lawful heir, called for a provisional ruler ; and the concession of taxes, appear generally to have constituted the only business which they were summoned, or which they had any desire to perform.

The modern Cortes, of which the original constitution was framed at Cadiz, while nearly all the other parts of Spain were occupied by the troops of Napoleon, differ in a great

many points from the ancient assembly under that name. That constitution, which, in its earliest form, collected within the Cortes almost all the powers of the state; which in fact established a republic, leaving to the sovereign a mere nominal authority, has already undergone innumerable alterations; sometimes restoring the regal power to real efficacy, sometimes rescinding it, or reducing it to a mere shadow; sometimes permitting two chambers of lords and commons, or of senate and deputies; now refusing more than a consultative voice to the aristocratic council, now granting it a deliberative voice, but under various modifications and restrictions.

The practical result of all these proceedings has been to invest the existing chamber of deputies with the real power of the state. The senate and the cabinet are its mere creatures, and the sovereign is obliged to comply with its will in all things. The present regent, Espartero, makes occasionally a show of independent action; but he speedily finds that unless he have the deputies with him, his course becomes perplexing, even although he has the army on his side.

If therefore the organization of Spain, with a view to constitute it as a really united kingdom, was found impracticable in all the preceding periods of its history, it would seem to be infinitely more so under the species of parliament which now exists in that country. We have not at hand any authentic enumeration of the administrations which have succeeded each other at Madrid, since the death of Ferdinand VII. We believe that they have not been much under the number of thirty, taking into the account the partial as well as the total alterations in the cabinet. To attain place and its emoluments, seems to be the sole object of every individual who procures a seat in the Cortes. To realize during the time he is in the government, a fortune sufficient to retire upon, is the great point he looks to.

Every new administration, upon entering office, finds the treasury empty. The first step is to get money. Public loans, in the ordinary form, are out of the question. Spain is in such a state of discredit at home and abroad, that it could not raise in London or in Paris a loan in the usual way upon any terms. Its bonds are at a mere nominal value, and that they have even a value of that kind is a mystery, which the most experienced broker cannot explain. Those papers are the chief materials for carrying on the system of public gambling which is permitted, most improperly, to go on upon the stock exchange. They are just so many cards in the hands

of those gamesters, who are called by the rude, though not unfit, names of the *bulls* and the *bears*.

But there are various other modes by which an ingenious finance minister can get money in Spain,—if not to meet the exigencies of the state, at least to fill his own pockets, and those of his friends in the cabinet. Many of the ordinary revenues of that country arise from monopolies, such as the manufactures of tobacco and salt, and the mines of quicksilver, lead, and copper. There are several species of impost which are farmed out. The lands and houses formerly belonging to the Church and the monastic orders, are also to a great extent still at the disposal of government. Add to these the revenues arising from Cuba, Porto Rico, the Manillas, and other foreign dependencies of Spain, and then remains the home taxation, levied upon the principal resources of the country.

The new finance minister, looking upon all these classes of income, imagines that he can have little difficulty in replenishing the treasury. But upon inquiry, he finds that they are, every one of them, already pledged, to an extent which admits of no redemption within his life time, not to speak of the time during which his tenure of office is likely to be continued. He moreover discovers that he has to provide for a large annual deficit, in consequence of the excess of expenditure over income. He has then recourse to all sorts of expedients for procuring money. Of late years a very productive, though most dishonest, scheme for getting money has been devised, and carried into effect with a degree of success, which has astonished every man of common penetration. This scheme may be described in a few words. Spanish bonds, upon which no dividends beyond those that have accrued during two or three years, have ever been paid, remain in the money market, to the amount, it is understood, of thirty millions sterling. A proposition is made to capitalize the arrears of the dividends, to throw the whole old bonds, and the dividends so capitalized, into a new kind of stock, divided into different classes of "active," "passive," and "deferred." Upon the first of these a dividend is fixed; decrees, couched in the most pompous terms, acknowledging the sacred necessity of preserving the public faith, and assigning certain revenues for the punctual payment of the dividends upon the "active" bonds, are issued by Cortes. The process of "conversion," under the authority of these decrees, is next arranged, and modes are defined by lottery for calling at some

time or other the "passive" and "deferred" bonds into a state of "activity." The conversion takes place within a time limited for that purpose. Many holders retain their old bonds, either from not being acquainted with the existence of the decrees, or from not reposing any confidence in them. The minister has the means of knowing the number of bonds still unconverted, after the time for "conversion" has expired. What does he do? He issues bonds under the new form to an amount not only covering that of the unconverted bonds, but in fact to any extent he may think likely not to betray his operation to the world. For the whole of this new issue there is a sale in the market at a certain though wretchedly low price. The national liabilities are thus vastly enlarged at a tremendous discount; but what of that? Money is obtained,—some small part of the arrears due to the military and civil services is paid, and the minister, and his colleagues "in the secret," put as much as they choose into their own purses!

This scheme may be considered as the wholesale mode of swindling, carried on by the Spanish government within these latter years. But, besides this, there are many minor operations, arising out of the farming of the state monopolies, and issues of treasury bills upon the credit of certain revenues. These bills are discounted either by the public bank in Madrid, or by private capitalists; and in all such cases it is well understood that *douceurs* are given to the finance minister, and the principal officers in his department. If the transaction be of a private nature, the bribery is managed in this way. The capitalist says to each of his friends in the exchequer; "By this little matter I realize so much profit,—it is a portion of my business,—so much of my gains for the year. I look upon you as *pro tanto* my partner, because you have given me material assistance in the course of my negotiation. I have calculated your share accordingly, and here it is," producing his bag of doubloons or dollars as the case may be, which he places on the table. No more is said upon the subject. The *partners* smoke a cigar together,—they talk upon the news of the day,—they separate with a thousand professions of mutual, everlasting friendship, and the affair is concluded!

The treasury still remains empty,—the ministers having exhausted all their devices for filling it; and having produced many fine plans on paper for the fiscal and political regeneration of the country, not one of which they entertain the

slightest hope of carrying into execution, fall, or are speedily made to fall, into disrepute. They are "interrogated" in the chamber,—they are lashed unmercifully in the press,—a motion is made and carried by their opponents in the chamber that they have lost the "moral confidence" of the country; they are of course compelled to resign; a new set of imbeciles speedily occupy their places, who pass in a few months through precisely the same routine; and so the difficulties of the country go on, daily increasing in a proportion which any statesman of ordinary sagacity and patriotism would contemplate with feelings of terror. But these are feelings altogether unknown to a Spanish minister. He sees the wealth of the country wasted, its resources exhausted or neglected, its difficulties becoming every hour more complicated. But he has his *douceurs*, and his cigars, his *Tertulias* and his *liaisons*, and he requires no more.

Is there no remedy, we shall be asked, for this state of things? Unquestionably there is,—not merely one remedy, but the choice of a great many modes for redressing all the evils which bow down the energies of Spain at this moment, and have almost effaced her, so far as moral influence and rank are concerned, from the map of Europe. Her foreign and domestic debt, although it has reduced her to a condition of insolvency, is after all of no very great amount, if her means for discharging it be considered. Various calculations have been made, with a view to ascertain the amount of all her liabilities, but they differ so much from each other that it is quite impossible to rely upon any of them. The secret issues of bonds and other securities render all public documents delusive upon this subject. The hypothesis, very probably, will not be very far from accuracy, which fixes the sum total of the national debt of Spain at about two hundred millions sterling. This is no very serious amount, if we consider the vast natural riches which she possesses, and her capability of developing and augmenting those riches, to an extent more than commensurate with her annual expenditure and her accumulated liabilities.

There is no country in any part of the world, which, considering its area, yields so great a variety of valuable productions as Spain. Oil, wine, wheat, wool, silk, quicksilver, lead, in which there is a very large portion of silver, copper, marbles of every hue, fruit of almost every kind, horses of Arabian descent, mules and donkeys of a size unknown elsewhere, corkwood, and other articles of the first utility, may

all be had in Spain in the greatest abundance. The only Spanish wine generally known in England is its sherry. Luckily the country (Xeres) where it is produced, lies near the south-western coast; it is thus shipped without much expense at Cadiz, otherwise we should most probably have never had a hogshead of it in London. It is perhaps the best kind of wine that can be drank, potent not only to "cheer the heart of man," but also to contribute to his health, materially differing in this latter respect from the wines of Portugal, France, and Germany. But besides sherry, there is a great variety of other wines, of an equally wholesome quality and most delicious flavour, in other parts of Spain, which are altogether unknown in England, because they are grown only in the interior of the country, between which and the coast there are no means of transit, except those furnished by sacks formed of skins, which, by their deteriorating influence on the flavour of the wine so carried, render it unfit for exportation.

The difficulties of the internal communications of Spain, might, however, be easily conquered by well-planned roads and canals, and the improvement of navigable rivers. These are means of national progress within the reach of any government that would apply itself vigorously and stedfastly to the task. Some advances have in fact been made within the last fifteen years, with a view to the accomplishment of this object. A grand project was undertaken by the government about half a century ago, for the purpose of forming an intercourse by water between the bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean. The canal of Arragon has been formed to the extent of several leagues; but the circumstances in which the country has since been placed, by foreign and domestic wars, have interfered with the further execution of the enterprise.

One of the most powerful and ready means for the effectual regeneration of Spain, would be the extension of her commerce with foreign countries. So opulent is her soil in every thing which many other countries, especially England, would be glad to exchange for their own produce, or the works of their industry, that if the Spanish government had only the courage to conclude treaties of commerce with other states, upon any reasonable system of mutual tariffs, they might easily derive from their customs a revenue more than sufficient for all their wants. They have been repeatedly solicited by the British minister to enter into negotiations for this purpose; they have made a show of entering upon the subject, but they

appear to be incapable of comprehending the utility of the measure, or incompetent to carry it into execution. On one side they are threatened with a revolt in Catalonia, if they admit any of the manufactures of England at a rate of duty less than what would operate as a prohibition, because Catalonia itself is a manufacturing province. On the other side, they are intimidated by France from listening to commercial propositions from our minister. The Count Molé not long since openly avowed the policy of the French government upon this subject. France carries on herself a very lucrative trade with Spain, either through the system of smuggling, or by arrangements long since established between the two countries. The Count declared to Lord Palmerston, that the interests of France would necessarily be injured by any kind of commercial treaty between England and Spain, and that the French government would at all times exert its influence to prevent such a treaty from being made. "Do what you like," he said, "with Portugal, but you must leave Spain to us."

It was no novelty to a British minister to understand, that upon every question whatever, whether commercial or political, arising between England and Spain, or springing out of circumstances in which he felt himself called upon to interfere for the benefit of Spain itself, he had always to contend against the intrigues of the French ambassador in Madrid. But we believe that the open declaration of resistance, conveyed too not in any oral form of communication, but in a regular, official, dispatch, stands now upon record for the first time in the archives of the Foreign Office. The pretext given for the opposition is this:—that although England sought no form of commercial engagement with Spain, which would give the former any peculiar favour, or contain any arrangement by which all other nations at peace with Spain might not, if they wished, take equal advantage,—nevertheless England would be sure to reap the greater portion of the benefit, on account of her unrivalled superiority, above all other nations, in skill, enterprise, capital, and manufacturing power!

Thus it appears, therefore, that France claims for herself a right of deciding as to the commercial relations of Spain with all other nations in the world; and, moreover, of exercising over that country the same kind of political *patronage*, which England is bound, when called upon, to exercise in favour of Portugal. It is very well known that there is a

solemn treaty of very long standing between the two latter countries, by which, in case Portugal is invaded by a foreign enemy, England is engaged to defend her, "as if she formed part of her own proper territory." No treaty at all similar to this exists between France and Spain. Consequently the right of control assumed by France over Spain is an undisguised usurpation, which, should it be persisted in, can only be eventually settled by force of arms.

Now it is not very likely that either France or England will speedily risk a war for that purpose. The consequence, therefore, must be that Spain shall remain, Heaven knows how long, in her present state of what we may call "passive anarchy,"—utterly insolvent,—unable to develop any of her infinite resources; the prey of corrupt ministers, and of place-men and place-hunters of every degree; her debt accumulating, her revenue laws evaded on all sides by innumerable smugglers; those very English goods which, if admitted upon payment of a reasonable duty, would yield her a splendid income, circulated through all her towns without the payment of any duty at all; no commercial enterprise, no laws enacted for her advancement in the paths of civilization, no literature, no art or science cultivated; no police; highway robberies and assassinations the order of the day; and, in fine, general retrogression; while all the other states upon the Continent are making unprecedented strides in every path of improvement. For all this, we venture to affirm, France is morally responsible.

We cannot see our way to any material change for the better in the present unhappy condition of Spain; nor can we conjecture by what means she can be redeemed from that condition, except through the energies of some good, and great, and fearless statesman arising from amongst her children,—some phenomenon of intellect and knowledge, disinterestedness and indomitable vigour, who shall be enabled by the force of his own volition to command the obedience and confidence of the country; and by the firmness of his power, and the strength of his sagacity, reduce to order all those elements of national prosperity which now lie dormant and confused in the depths of chaos. Unfortunately there is no appearance of any such personage in the whole range of her public characters.

It is very remarkable, that in all the agitations of which Spain has been the theatre for a great number of years, no dominant mind, no self-balanced, generous, brilliant, gifted person, of large, elevated, and, at the same time practical views, has shone

out through the host of rivals who have been engaged in contending for military or political power. Arguelles, when he first started upon his career, exhibited some fine traits of intellectual greatness. But he was not long tried in the ordeal of conflicting opinions, when he betrayed that tendency to uncompromising optimism, which has most materially marred his usefulness, and kept him depressed in the rank of practical statesmen. General Alava has proved himself a Bayard,* but he never aspired beyond the ambition of a soldier. Galiano, of whom something was expected, turned out a mere declaimer. Martinez de la Rosa, who professed great principles of action, preferred to spend his time in addressing courtly verses to the queen Christina. Count Florida Blanca, much eulogized by his friends, has passed away without leaving a trace of his existence behind him. Mendizabal (half Moor, half Jew), who was to have set all things right in six months, quickly showed himself a Cagliostro. Mina and Zumalacarregui were mere mountain bravos. Rodil, who failed as a general, and who is now we believe "minister of war," is a gasconading imbecile. Espartero has exhibited some sagacity and talent as a military chieftain; his name still possesses *prestige* with the army; but he has no political party, either in the Cortes or in the country. Under his regency, Spain appears to be more agitated than ever. His persecutions of the ministers of our holy religion, and his many gross invasions upon the undoubted authority of the Holy See, have called down upon his head the animadversions of the Supreme Pontiff, and the reprobation of all Christendom. It is impossible that his power, such as it is, can be of any permanent advantage to Spain. He knows not how to wield the sceptre which circumstances have placed for a season in his hands. He is a mere ape of Napoleon; and his wretched bodily health predicts his speedy disappearance from the place which he now so very unworthily fills.

If we pass from the contemporaneous history of Spain to preceding ages, what a succession of inferior minds do we behold, invested from time to time with military and civil authority in that country. With the exception of the celebrated Cid, Gonsalvo of Cordova, Cardinal Ximenes, the

* We use the name according to the popular opinion of this hero; but we apprehend that a Christian knight, who, in the course of a duel, finding his adversary under him, deliberately took from his bosom a dagger, and pressed it through the eye into the brain of his antagonist, can hardly be said to be *sans reproche*!

Queen Isabella, and Charles V, there are scarcely any figures which stand out from the canvass in the general picture of that portion of the Peninsula. The portrait of Philip II, indeed, is strongly defined, but it is stern, gloomy, and in the shade which best befits it.

The Cid was one of those chivalrous characters whose martial deeds form the burthen of many a ballad and legend. His monument is shown in the cathedral of Burgos as one of its choicest treasures.

Gonsalvo of Cordova obtained very high and well-earned distinction, as a military commander, under Ferdinand and Isabella, especially during the very unjustifiable wars which they waged in Italy. He was the idol of all the poets of his age, and it was more than once feared that the great captain was becoming too powerful for a subject. It cannot be denied that by the force of his genius he accomplished great results with very slender resources, and against difficulties which would have overwhelmed minds of an ordinary calibre. The following account of his alterations in the weapons of the Spanish army, will be read with interest, as disclosing a glimpse of the age, and of one of its most eminent heroes:—

“Nothing could be more unpromising than his position on first entering Calabria. Military operations had been conducted in Spain on principles totally different from those which prevailed in the rest of Europe. This was the case, especially in the late Moorish wars, where the old tactics and the character of the ground brought light cavalry chiefly into use. This, indeed, constituted his principal strength at this period; for his infantry, though accustomed to irregular service, was indifferently armed and disciplined. An important revolution, however, had occurred in the other parts of Europe. The infantry had there regained the superiority which it maintained in the days of the Greeks and Romans. The experiment had been made on more than one bloody field; and it was found that the solid columns of Swiss and German pikes not only bore down all opposition in their onward march, but presented an impregnable barrier, not to be shaken by the most desperate charges of the best heavy-armed cavalry. It was against these dreaded battalions that Gonsalvo was now called to measure, for the first time, the bold, but rudely armed and comparatively raw recruits from Galicia and the Asturias.

“He lost his first battle, into which it should be remembered he was precipitated against his will. He proceeded afterwards with the greatest caution, gradually familiarizing his men with the aspect and usages of the enemy whom they held in such awe, before bringing them to a direct encounter. He put himself to school

during this whole campaign, carefully acquainting himself with the tactics, discipline, and novel arms of his adversaries, and borrowing just so much as he could incorporate into the ancient system of the Spaniards, without discarding the latter altogether. Thus, while he retained the short sword and buckler of his countrymen, he fortified his battalions with a large number of spearmen, after the German fashion. The arrangement is highly commended by the sagacious Machiavelli, who considers it as combining the advantages of both systems; since, while the long spear served all the purposes of resistance, or even of attack on level ground, the short swords and targets enabled their wearers to cut in under the dense array of hostile pikes, and bring the enemy to close quarters, where his formidable weapon was of no avail.

"While Gonsalvo made this innovation in the arms and tactics, he paid equal attention to the formation of a suitable character in his soldiery. The circumstances in which he was placed at Barletta, and on the Garigliano, imperatively demanded this. Without food, clothes, or pay, without the chance even of retrieving his desperate condition by venturing a blow at the enemy, the Spanish soldier was required to remain passive. To do this, demanded patience, abstinence, and strict subordination, and a degree of resolution far higher than that required to combat obstacles, however formidable in themselves, where active exertion, which tasks the utmost energies of the soldier, renews his spirits and raises them to a contempt of danger. It was calling on him, in short, to begin with achieving that most difficult of all victories, the victory over himself.

"All this the Spanish commander effected. He infused into his men a portion of his own invincible energy. He inspired a love of his person, which led them to emulate his example, and a confidence in his genius and resources, which supported them under all their privations by a firm reliance on a fortunate issue. His manners were distinguished by a graceful courtesy, less encumbered with etiquette than was usual with persons of his high rank in Castile. He knew well the proud and independent feelings of the Spanish soldier; and, far from annoying him by unnecessary restraints, showed the most liberal indulgence at all times. But his kindness was tempered with severity, which displayed itself on such occasions as required interposition, in a manner that rarely failed to repress every thing like insubordination."—vol. iii. pp. 150-153.

The great extent of Gonsalvo's popularity was particularly marked at a later period, when the destinies of Italy became endangered by the progress of the French invaders of that country. After the defeat of Ravenna, the pope and the other allies of Ferdinand urged him in the most earnest manner to send the "great captain" into Italy, as the only man capable of checking the French arms, and restoring the

fortunes of the "League." The king accordingly ordered Gonsalvo to hold himself in readiness to take the command of an army to be instantly raised for Italy. (May 1512).

"These tidings were received with enthusiasm by the Castilians. Men of every rank pressed forward to serve under a chief whose service was itself a sufficient passport to fame. It actually seemed, says Peter Martyr, as if Spain were to be drained of all her noble and generous blood. Nothing appeared impossible, or even difficult, under such a leader. Hardly a cavalier in the land but would have thought it a reproach to remain behind. Truly marvellous, he adds, is the authority which he has acquired over all orders of men.

"Such was the zeal with which men enlisted under his banner, that great difficulty was found in procuring levies for Navarre then menaced by the French. The king, alarmed at this, and relieved from apprehensions of immediate danger to Naples, by subsequent advices from that country, sent orders greatly reducing the number of forces to be raised. But this had little effect, since every man who had the means preferred acting as a volunteer under the great captain, to any other service however gainful, and many a poor cavalier was there, who expended his little all, or incurred a heavy debt, in order to appear in the field in a style becoming the chivalry of Spain.

"Ferdinand's former distrust of his general was now augmented tenfold by this evidence of his unbounded popularity. He saw in imagination much more danger to Naples from such a subject, than from any enemy, however formidable. He had received intelligence, moreover, that the French were in full retreat towards the north. He hesitated no longer, but sent instructions to the great captain, at Cordova, to disband his levies, as the expedition would be postponed till after the present winter; at the same time inviting such as chose to enlist in the service of Navarre. (August 1512).

"These tidings were received with indignant feelings by the whole army. The officers refused, nearly to a man, to engage in the proposed service. Gonsalvo, who understood the motives of this change in the royal purpose, was deeply sensible of what he regarded as a personal affront. He, however, enjoined on his troops implicit obedience to the king's commands. Before dismissing them, as he knew that many had been drawn into expensive preparations far beyond their means, he distributed largesses among them, amounting to the immense sum, if we may credit his biographers, of one hundred thousand ducats. 'Never stint your hand,' said he to his steward, who remonstrated on the magnitude of the donative; 'there is no mode of enjoying one's property, like giving it away.' He then wrote a letter to the king, in which he gave free vent to his indignation, bitterly complaining of the ungenerous requital of his ser-

vices, and asking leave to retire to his duchy of Terranova in Naples, since he could be no longer useful in Spain. This request was not calculated to lull Ferdinand's suspicions. He answered, however, in the soft and pleasant style which he knew so well how to assume, says Zurita ; and after specifying his motives for relinquishing, however reluctantly, the expedition, he recommended Gonsalvo's return to Loja, at least until some more definite arrangement could be made respecting the affairs of Italy.

"Thus condemned to his former seclusion, the great captain resumed his late habits of life, freely opening his mansion to persons of merit ; interesting himself in plans for ameliorating the condition of his tenantry and neighbours ; and in this quiet way winning a more unquestionable title to human gratitude than when piling up the blood-stained trophies of victory."—vol. iii. pp. 350-353.

Within three years after this period, Gonsalvo was attacked by a quartan fever, which, at first it was thought, his strong constitution might have been enabled to subdue. But all hope of any such result speedily vanished. He expired in December 1515, at his palace in Granada in the arms of his wife and his beloved daughter Elvira. His death was mourned deeply by the whole nation. Funeral services were performed in his honour in all the principal churches of the kingdom. His obsequies were celebrated with royal magnificence in Granada, where his remains also were deposited beneath a sumptuous mausoleum, which may yet be seen in the church of San Geronimo. A hundred banners, which upon that occasion waved on the walls of the church, recounted the series of his military achievements. His daughter inherited his princely estates, which were subsequently perpetuated in the house of Cordova. Mr. Prescott thus sums up his character.

"Gonsalvo was sixty-two years old at the time of his death. His countenance and person are represented to have been extremely handsome ; his manners, elegant and attractive, were stamped with that lofty dignity which so often distinguishes his countrymen. 'He still bears,' says Martyr, speaking of him in the last years of his life, 'the same majestic port as when in the height of his former authority ; so that every one who visits him acknowledges the influence of his noble presence, as fully as when, at the head of armies, he gave laws to Italy.'

"His splendid military successes, so gratifying to Castilian pride, have made the name of Gonsalvo as familiar to his countrymen as that of the Cid, which, floating down the stream of popular melody, has been treasured up as part of the national history. His shining qualites, even more than his exploits, have been often made the

theme of fiction; and fiction, as usual, has dealt with them in a fashion to leave only confused and erroneous conceptions of both. More is known of the Spanish hero, for instance, to foreign readers, from Florian's agreeable novel, than from any authentic record of his actions. Yet Florian, by dwelling only on the dazzling and popular traits of his hero, has depicted him as the very personification of romantic chivalry. This certainly was not his character, which might be said to have been formed after a riper period of civilization than the age of chivalry. * * * His characteristics were prudence, coolness, steadiness of purpose, and intimate knowledge of man. He understood, above all, the temper of his own countrymen. He may be said, in some degree, to have formed their military character,—their patience of severe training and hardship,—their unflinching obedience,—their inflexible spirit under reverses,—and their decisive energy in the hour of action. It is certain that the Spanish soldier, under his hands, assumed an entirely new aspect from that which he had displayed in the wars of the Peninsula. * * *

"Gonsalvo's fame rests on his military prowess; yet his character would seem, in many respects, better suited to the calm and cultivated walks of civil life. His government of Naples exhibited much discretion and sound policy; and there, as afterwards in his retirement, his polite and liberal manners secured, not merely the good will, but the strong attachment, of those around him. His early education, like that of most of the noble cavaliers who came forward before the improvements introduced under Isabella, was taken up with knightly exercises more than intellectual accomplishments. He was never taught Latin, and had no pretensions to scholarship; but he honoured and nobly recompensed it in others. His solid sense and liberal taste supplied all deficiencies in himself, and led him to select friends and companions from among the most enlightened and virtuous of the community."—vol. iii. pp. 357-360.

Some parts of Gonsalvo's military career are, however, reputed by historians to have brought animadversions upon his character. He has been charged with two distinct breaches of faith, which, if the testimony in support of them may be relied upon, must indeed leave foul spots upon his fame. We need not enter into this subject. Our chief purpose in the extracts which we have above given, has been to bring forward one of the few great men, whom Spain has produced, and at the same time to adduce specimens of the highly polished, and, at the same time, vigorous and agreeable style, in which the work before us is composed.

The character of Cardinal Ximenes is also drawn in a very forcible manner. As he was the most remarkable ecclesiastical personage, and also the most celebrated statesman, of

whom Spain can boast, we must bestow a brief notice upon his extraordinary career. He was born at the little town of Tordelaguna, in the year 1436, of an ancient but decayed family. Being intended from an early age for the Church, he was sent to the college of Alcala, near Madrid, where he received the rudiments of his education. He next proceeded to the university of Salamanca, pursued his studies with the most devoted attention, made himself a perfect master of the civil and canon laws, and at the end of six years received the degree of bachelor in each of them,—a distinction which was at that time of very rare occurrence. Anxious to complete his education at Rome, he visited that capital, where he remained in the pursuit of his studies three years: being called home by the death of his father, he was preparing to set out, when he received a signal mark of favour, on account of his great industry and talent, which had been particularly noticed by his superiors. A Papal bull was placed in his hands, conferring upon him the first benefice of a specified rank, which should become vacant in the see of Toledo. Bulls of that description were not, however, then very generally acknowledged in Spain to have any validity. And accordingly, when the benefice of Uzeda became vacant, it being of the rank mentioned in the bull, the archbishop of Toledo refused to allow it effect. Ximenes, however, took possession of the benefice under the authority of the apostolic grant; his claims were resisted by the archbishop, who finally not only expelled him, but had him removed to the strong tower of Santorcaz, “then used as a prison for contumacious ecclesiastics.” Ximenes submitted to his imprisonment with exemplary patience; but no argument, no offers, could induce him to give up what he deemed to be his right. At the end of six years he was released, and allowed to take quiet possession of the benefice in question, which, however, for the sake of peace, he soon after exchanged for the chaplaincy of Siguenza, 1480. The duties of this office afforded him time to follow up his theological studies, and to acquire an extensive knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldee.

The bishop of Siguenza at that period was Mendoza, afterwards archbishop of Toledo, primate-cardinal, and, as some of the courtiers pleasantly called him—“third king of Spain.” He exercised unbounded influence over Ferdinand and Isabella, but is acknowledged, upon all hands, never to have abused it. His views were naturally grand and lofty, in every way worthy of his race, the family of Santillana, “a family,”

says Mr. Prescott, "every member of which must be allowed to have exhibited a rare union of public and private virtue." But there was no true greatness of character about him. All his natural inclinations were for pomp and grandeur, pages of high degree, and retainers splendidly equipped. It must, in justice, be added, that he was most munificent in his endowments of public institutions; and that he had a strong disposition to encourage learned and meritorious men, appears from the whole of his conduct with reference to Ximenes. He was not long in discerning the qualities of that extraordinary man. He took the earliest opportunity of appointing him his vicar, with the administration of his diocese. But Ximenes did not find that sort of life to suit him. It brought him too much into contact with the world, which he wished to shun; with this view he gave up all his revenues, and entered the most rigid of all the monastic societies then in existence, that of the Observantines of the Franciscan order, or, in other words, that order of St. Francis which most strictly followed the original rules of the founder.

But even in the cloisters of that order he soon ceased to find the solitude of which he was in search. His reputation for sanctity had spread so rapidly and widely, that people came to consult him from all quarters. He was consequently obliged to seek refuge in a convent situated in a deep forest of chestnut trees; and to render his retirement perfect, he built for himself a hermitage, in which he lived,

"Prayer all his business—all his pleasure praise."

His only food was the green herb,—his only drink the waters running near him. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this mode of existence. Upon the promotion of the Queen's confessor, a vacancy occurred in that most important office, Ximenes was recommended for it by his friend the cardinal, and he was forthwith appointed to take charge of her majesty's conscience. He was next elected provincial of his order in Castile; and it was in this capacity that the sternness and indomitable energy of his character became at once remarkably conspicuous. His reforms, which were much needed, were of the most sweeping and inexorable character. The death of his patron opened to him the archbishopric of Toledo—a degree in ecclesiastical rank always held to be second only to the Holy See itself. Isabella, without apprizing him of her intentions, obtained the bull of consecration from the Pope. Ximenes, however, refused the responsibilities of so

arduous an office; and persevered in his refusal until the Holy Father sent to him a mandatory letter on the subject. Mr. Prescott admits that the "*nolo episcopari*," in this instance was the expression of a real indisposition on the part of Ximenes to undertake functions which would necessarily preclude him from remaining any longer in the shades he loved best. "Moreover," as our author remarks, "he was at this time in the sixtieth year of his age, when ambition, though not extinguished, is usually chilled in the human heart. His habits had been long accommodated to the ascetic duties of the cloister, and his thoughts turned from the business of this world to that beyond the grave."

In his new office, Ximenes would have preferred to pursue a course of humility and frugality, altogether the reverse of that of Mendoza. "He at first kept," says Gonzalo de Orredo, "five or six friars of his own order in his palace with him, and as many asses in his stables; but the latter all grew sleek and fat, for the archbishop would not ride himself, nor allow his brethren to ride either." But subsequently, in obedience to an intimation from the Holy See,

"He so far changed his habits as to display the usual magnificence of his predecessors in all that met the public eye,—his general style of living, equipage, and the number and pomp of his retainers; but he relaxed nothing of his own personal mortifications. He maintained the same abstemious diet, amidst all the luxuries of his table. Under his robes of silk or costly furs he wore the coarse frock of St. Francis, which he used to mend with his own hands. He used no linen about his person or bed; and he slept on a miserable pallet, like that used by the monks of his fraternity, and so contrived as to be concealed from observation under the luxurious couch in which he affected to repose."—vol. ii. p. 360.

The brevity of the cardinal's toilet became proverbial in Spain. His biographer, Quintanilla, tells us, that on one occasion as Ximenes was travelling, and up as usual long before the dawn, he urged his muleteer to dress himself quickly; at which the latter irreverently exclaimed, "*Cuerpo de dios! Does your holiness think I have nothing more to do than to shake myself like a wet spaniel, and tighten my cord a little?*"

The cardinal lost no time in introducing all necessary reforms into his diocese, and speedily overcame every species of resistance, by his energy and inflexible perseverance. He carried his measures with a high hand, being naturally of an austere temper. Conscious of the rectitude of his intentions,

he identified his own views with those of the Church, and regarded all opposition to himself as an offence against religion, warranting the most peremptory exertion of power. We are obliged to pass over his celebrated controversies with the Moorish doctors, and the splendid results of his proceedings for the conversion of their brethren, many of whom had been permitted to remain in Granada, under the capitulation which was concluded at the time of the conquest. Such were the results of his exertions, that as many as four thousand converts are said, upon good authority, to have presented themselves for baptism in one day. These proceedings, however, were viewed with the utmost jealousy by the whole Moorish nation in Africa. They made repeated descents, in consequence, upon the southern coasts of the Peninsula; and such were their daring acts of hostility, that it was found necessary to fit out an expedition against them. At the instigation of Ximenes, this expedition was directed against Oran, then one of the most considerable of the Moslem possessions in the Mediterranean, and a principal mart for the trade of the Levant. The cardinal not only defrayed all the expenses of this armament, but led it himself in person. Mr. Prescott's account of his appearance in the field of action, reminds us of the battles of the crusades:—

“As soon as the Spanish army had landed and formed in order of battle, Ximenes mounted his mule and rode along the ranks. He was dressed in his pontifical robes, with a belted sword at his side. A Franciscan friar rode before him, bearing aloft the massive silver cross, the archiepiscopal standard of Toledo. Around him were other brethren of the order, wearing their monastic frocks, with scimitars hanging from their girdles. As the ghostly cavalcade advanced, they raised the triumphant hymn of *Vexilla regis*, until at length the cardinal, ascending a rising ground, imposed silence, and made a brief but animated harangue to his soldiers. He reminded them of the wrongs they had suffered from the Moslems, the devastation of their coasts, and their brethren dragged into merciless slavery. When he had sufficiently roused their resentment against the enemies of their country and religion, he stimulated their cupidity, by dwelling on the golden spoil which awaited them in the opulent city of Oran; and he concluded his discourse by declaring that he had come to peril his own life in the good cause of the Cross, and to lead them on to battle, as his predecessors had often done before him.

“The venerable aspect and heart-stirring eloquence of the primate, kindled a deep reverential enthusiasm in the bosoms of his martial audience, which showed itself by the profoundest silence.

The officers, however, closed around him at the conclusion of the address, and besought him not to expose his sacred person to the hazard of the fight; reminding him that his presence would probably do more harm than good, by drawing off the attention of the men to his personal safety. This last consideration moved the cardinal, who, though reluctantly, consented to relinquish the command to Navarro; and, after uttering his parting benediction over the prostrate ranks, he withdrew to the neighbouring fortress of Madyarquivir.

"The day was now far spent, and dark clouds of the enemy were seen gathering along the tops of the Sierra, which it was proposed first to attack. Navarro, seeing this post so strongly occupied, doubted whether his men would be able to carry it before nightfall, if indeed at all, without previous rest and refreshment, after the exhausting labours of the day. He returned, therefore, to Madyarquivir, to take counsel of Ximenes. The latter, whom he found at his devotions, besought him not to falter at this hour, but to go forward in God's name, since both the blessed Saviour and the false prophet Mahomet, conspired to deliver the enemy into his hands. The soldier's scruples vanished before the intrepid bearing of the prelate, and, returning to the army, he gave instant orders to advance.

"Slowly and silently the Spanish troops began their ascent up the steep sides of the Sierra, under the friendly cover of a thick mist, which, rolling heavily down the skirts of the hills, shielded them for a time from the eye of the enemy. As soon as they emerged from it, however, they were saluted with showers of balls, arrows, and other deadly missiles, followed by the desperate charges of the Moors, who, rushing down, endeavoured to drive back the assailants. But they made no impression on the long pikes and deep ranks of the latter, which remained unshaken as a rock. Still the numbers of the enemy, fully equal to those of the Spaniards, and the advantages of their position, enabled them to dispute the ground with fearful obstinacy. At length Navarro got a small battery of heavy guns to operate on the flank of the Moors. The effect of this movement was soon visible. The exposed sides of the Moslem column, finding no shelter from the deadly volleys, were shaken and thrown into disorder. The confusion extended to the leading files, which now, pressed heavily by the iron array of spearmen in the Christian van, began to give ground. Retreat was soon quickened into a disorderly flight. The Spaniards pursued; many of them, especially the raw levies, breaking their ranks and following up the flying foe, without the least regard to the commands or menaces of their officers: a circumstance which might have proved fatal, had the Moors had strength or discipline to rally. As it was, the scattered numbers of the Christians,

magnifying to the eye their real force, served only to increase the panic and accelerate the speed of the fugitives."—vol. iii. pp. 285-288.

No pages of Spanish history are more brilliant than those which record the results of this expedition. The capture of Oran speedily followed. Ximenes, having taken all necessary steps for securing the conquests he had made, returned to Spain, where ovations were prepared for him upon the most magnificent scale. But he refused them all, and repaired as speedily as he could to his favourite residence in the college of Alcala. He passed into the town "with no peculiar circumstance attending his entrance, save only a small train of camels, led by African slaves, and laden with gold and silver plate, from the mosques of Oran, and a precious collection of manuscripts, for the library of his infant university." After that period he chiefly devoted his time to the preparation of his celebrated polyglot bible. We need hardly add, that all the African conquests made by the Spaniards in those times, eventually escaped the Spanish crown, through the imbecility of the successors of Charles V.

Upon the death of Ferdinand, Ximenes was appointed, under the will of the monarch, regent of Castile. Here a new field of exertion opened to his indefatigable energy. His activity was wonderful at his age: his policy was so just in its views, and so boldly carried out, that it must ever place him in the highest rank of statesmen. He was, however, ill repaid for all his labours by Charles V, whose ingratitude towards that good and truly great man, forms a taint upon his character, which not all the brilliancy of his subsequent career can ever throw into the shade. Ximenes, soon after the succession of the young monarch to the crown, was seized with the return of a fever under which he had previously suffered. He breathed for the last time on the 8th of November 1517. His character is thus eloquently summed up by Mr. Prescott:—

"Such was the end of this remarkable man; the most remarkable, in many respects, of his time. His character was of that stern and lofty cast which seems to rise above the ordinary wants and weaknesses of humanity. His genius, of the severest order, like Dante's or Michael Angelo's in the regions of fancy, impresses us with ideas of power, that excite admiration akin to terror. His enterprises, as we have seen, were of the boldest character; his execution of them equally bold. He disdained to woo fortune by

any of those soft and pliant arts which are often the most effectual. He pursued his ends by the most direct means. In this way he frequently multiplied difficulties ; but difficulties seemed to have a charm for him, by the opportunities they afforded of displaying the energies of his soul.

"With these qualities he combined a versatility of talent usually found only in softer and more flexible characters. Though bred in the cloister, he distinguished himself both in the cabinet and the camp. For the latter, indeed, so repugnant to his regular profession, he had a natural genius, according to the testimony of his biographers ; and he evinced the relish of it by declaring that the smell of gunpowder was more grateful to him than the sweetest perfume of Arabia. In every situation, however, he exhibited the stamp of his peculiar calling ; and the stern lineaments of the monk were never wholly concealed under the mask of the statesman, or the visor of the warrior. He had a full measure of the religious bigotry which belonged to the age ; and he had melancholy scope for displaying it, as chief of that dread tribunal over which he presided during the last ten years of his life.

"He carried the arbitrary ideas of his profession into political life. His regency was conducted on the principles of military despotism. It was his maxim, that a prince must rely mainly on his army for securing the respect and obedience of his subjects. It is true, he had to deal with a martial and factious nobility, and the end which he proposed was, to curb their licentiousness, and to enforce the equitable administration of justice ; but in accomplishing this, he showed little regard to the constitution or to private rights. His first act, the proclaiming of Charles king, was in open contempt of the usages and rights of the nation. He evaded the urgent demands of the Castilians for a convocation of Cortes ; for it was his opinion that freedom of speech, especially in regard to their own grievances, made the people insolent and irreverent to their rulers. The people, of course, had no voice in the measures which involved their most important interests. His whole policy, indeed, was to exalt the royal prerogative, at the expense of the inferior orders of the state ; and his regency, short as it was, and highly beneficial to the country in many respects, must be considered as opening the way to that career of despotism which the Austrian family followed up with such hard-hearted constancy.

"But while we condemn the politics, we cannot but respect the principles of the man. However erroneous his conduct in our eyes, he was guided by a sense of duty. It was this, and the conviction of it in the minds of others, which constituted the secret of his great power. It made him reckless of difficulties, and fearless of all personal consequences. The consciousness of the integrity of his purposes rendered him, indeed, too unscrupulous as to the means of attaining them. He held his own life cheap in comparison

with the great reforms that he had at heart. Was it surprising that he should hold as lightly the convenience and interests of others, when they thwarted their execution ?

"His views were raised far above considerations of self. As a statesman, he identified himself with the state ; as a churchman, with the interests of his religion. He severely punished every offence against these. He as freely forgave every personal injury. He had many remarkable opportunities of shewing this. His administration provoked numerous lampoons and libels. He despised them, as the miserable solace of spleen and discontent ; and never persecuted their authors. In this he formed an honourable contrast to Cardinal Richelieu, whose character and condition suggest many points of resemblance with his own.

"His disinterestedness was further shown by his mode of dispensing his large revenue. It was spent among the poor, and on great public objects. He built up no family. He had brothers and nephews ; but he contented himself with making their condition comfortable, without diverting to their benefit the great trusts confided to him for the public. The greater part of the funds which he left at his death was settled on the university of Alcalá.

"He had, however, none of that pride which would make him ashamed of his poor and humble relations. He had, indeed, a confidence in his own powers, approaching to arrogance, which led him to undervalue the abilities of others, and to look on them as his instruments, rather than his equals : but he had none of the vulgar pride founded on wealth or station. He frequently alluded to his lowly condition in early life with great humility, thanking heaven, with tears in his eyes, for its extraordinary goodness to him. He not only remembered, but did many acts of kindness to his early friends, of which more than one touching anecdote is related. Such traits of sensibility, gleaming through the natural austerity and sternness of a disposition like his, like light breaking through a dark cloud, affect us the more sensibly by contrast.

"He was irreproachable in his morals, and conformed literally to all the rigid exactions of his severe order, in the court as faithfully as in the cloister. He was sober, abstemious, chaste. In the latter particular he was careful that no suspicion of the licence which so often soiled the clergy of the period should attach to him. On one occasion, while on a journey, he was invited to pass the night at the house of the duchess of Maqueda, being informed that she was absent. The duchess was at home, however, and entered the apartment before he retired to rest. 'You have deceived me, lady,' said Ximenes, rising in anger ; 'if you have any business with me, you will find me to-morrow at the confessional.' So saying, he abruptly left the palace.

"He carried his austerities and mortifications so far, as to endanger his health. There is a curious brief extant, of Pope Leo

the Tenth, dated the last year of the cardinal's life, enjoining him to abate his severe penance, to eat meat and eggs on the ordinary fasts, to take off his Franciscan frock, and sleep in linen, and on a bed. He would never consent, however, to divest himself of his monastic weeds. 'Even laymen,' said he, alluding to the custom of the Roman Catholics, 'put these on when they are dying; and shall I, who have worn them all my life, take them off at that time?'

"Another anecdote is told in relation to his dress. Over his coarse woollen frock he wore the costly apparel suited to his rank. An impertinent Franciscan preacher took occasion one day, before him, to launch out against the luxuries of the time, especially in dress, obviously alluding to the cardinal, who was attired in a superb suit of ermine, which had been presented to him. He heard the sermon patiently to the end, and, after the services were concluded, took the preacher into the sacristy, and, having commended the general tenor of his discourse, showed, under his furs and fine linen, the coarse frock of his order next his skin. Some accounts add, that the friar, on the other hand, wore fine linen under his monkish frock. After the cardinal's death, a little box was found in his apartment, containing the implements with which he used to mend the rents of his threadbare garments with his own hands.

"With so much to do, it may well be believed that Ximenes was avaricious of time. He seldom slept more than four, or at most, four hours and a half. He was shaved in the night, hearing, at the same time, some edifying reading. He followed the same practice at his meals, or varied it with listening to the arguments of some of his theological brethren, generally on some subtle question of school divinity. This was his only recreation. He had as little taste as time for lighter and more elegant amusements. He spoke briefly, and always to the point. He was no friend of idle ceremonies and useless visits, though his situation exposed him more or less to both. He frequently had a volume lying open on the table before him, and when his visitor stayed too long, or took up his time with light and frivolous conversation, he intimated his dissatisfaction by resuming his reading. The cardinal's book must have been as fatal to a reputation as Fontenelle's ear-trumpet.

"I will close this sketch of Ximenes with a brief outline of his person. His complexion was sallow; his countenance sharp and emaciated; his nose aquiline: his upper lip projected far over the lower; his eyes were small, deep set in his head, dark, vivid, and penetrating; his forehead ample, and, what was remarkable, without a wrinkle, though the expression of his features was somewhat severe. His voice was clear, but not agreeable; his enunciation measured and precise. His demeanour was grave; his carriage firm and erect; he was tall in stature, and his whole presence commanding. His constitution, naturally robust, was

impaired by his severe austerities and severer cares ; and, in the latter years of his life, was so delicate as to be extremely sensible to the vicissitudes and inclemency of the weather.

"I have noticed the resemblance which Ximenes bore to the great French minister, cardinal Richelieu : it was, after all, however, more in the circumstances of situation than in their characters ; though the most prominent traits of these were not dissimilar. Both, though bred ecclesiastics, reached the highest honours of the state, and, indeed, may be said to have directed the destinies of their countries. Richelieu's authority, however, was more absolute than that of Ximenes, for he was screened by the shadow of royalty ; while the latter was exposed, by his insulated and unsheltered position, to the full blaze of envy, and, of course, opposition. Both were ambitious of military glory, and showed capacity for attaining it. Both achieved their great results by that rare union of high mental endowments and great efficiency in action, which is always irresistible."—vol. iii. pp. 396-404.

Besides the queen Isabella, two other personages should be cited as having performed great services to Spain, and of having earned, from their splendid talents, a fame that could never die : Christopher Columbus, and Charles V. The former, however, as is well known, was a Genoese, and the latter had much more of Austrian than Spanish blood in his veins. Moreover, Robertson's history of his reign has rendered his character so familiar to every English reader, that it would be quite superfluous to offer any sketch of it in these pages. Gaston de Foix, who obtained distinction in the foreign wars of Spain, was a Frenchman. The only truly great Spanish character still remaining to be noticed is the queen, Isabella, —often compared with our Elizabeth, but infinitely her superior in almost every point of view. We have but a brief space remaining for her portrait :—

"Her person was of the middle height, and well proportioned. She had a clear, fresh complexion, with light blue eyes and auburn hair,—a style of beauty exceedingly rare in Spain. Her features were regular, and universally allowed to be uncommonly handsome. The illusion which attaches to rank, more especially when united with engaging manners, might lead us to suspect some exaggeration in the encomiums so liberally lavished upon her ; but they would seem to be in a great measure justified by the portraits that remain of her, which combine a faultless symmetry of features with singular sweetness and intelligence of expression."

"Her manners were most gracious and pleasing : they were marked by natural dignity and modest reserve, tempered by an affability which flowed from the kindness of her disposition. She

was the last person to be approached with undue familiarity ; yet the respect which she imposed was mingled with the strongest feelings of devotion and love. She showed great tact in accommodating herself to the peculiar situation and character of those around her. She appeared in arms at the head of her troops, and shrunk from none of the hardships of war. During the reforms introduced into the religious houses, she visited the nunneries in person, taking her needle-work with her, and passing the day in the society of the inmates. When travelling in Galicia, she attired herself in the costume of the country, borrowing, for that purpose, the jewels and other ornaments of the ladies there, and returning them with liberal additions. By this condescending and captivating deportment, as well as by her higher qualities, she gained an ascendancy over her turbulent subjects which no king of Spain could ever boast.

“ She spoke the Castilian with much elegance and correctness. She had an easy fluency of discourse, which, though generally of a serious complexion, was occasionally seasoned with agreeable sallies, some of which have passed into proverbs. She was temperate even to abstemiousness in her diet, seldom or never tasting wine ; and so frugal in her table, that the daily expense for herself and family did not exceed the moderate sum of forty ducats. She was equally simple and economical in her apparel. On all public occasions, indeed, she displayed a royal magnificence ; but she had no relish for it in private, and she freely gave away her clothes and jewels as presents to her friends. Naturally of a sedate though cheerful temper, she had little taste for the frivolous amusements which make up so much of a court life ; and if she encouraged the presence of minstrels and musicians in her palace, it was to wean her young nobility from the coarser and less intellectual pleasures to which they were addicted.

“ Among her moral qualities, the most conspicuous, perhaps, was her magnanimity. She betrayed nothing little or selfish, in thought or action. Her schemes were vast, and executed in the same noble spirit in which they were conceived. She never employed doubtful agents or sinister measures, but the most direct and open policy. She scorned to avail herself of advantages offered by the perfidy of others. Where she had once given her confidence, she gave her hearty and steady support ; and she was scrupulous to redeem any pledge she had made to those who ventured in her cause, however unpopular. She sustained Ximenes in all his obnoxious but salutary reforms. She seconded Columbus in the prosecution of his arduous enterprise, and shielded him from the calumny of his enemies. She did the same good service to her favourite, Gonsalvo de Cordova : and the day of her death was felt, and, as it proved, truly felt by both, as the last of their good fortune. Artifice and duplicity were so abhorrent to her character,

and so averse to her domestic policy, that when they appear in the foreign relations of Spain, it is certainly not imputable to her. She was incapable of harbouring any petty distrust or latent malice ; and, though stern in the execution and exaction of public justice, she made the most generous allowance, and even sometimes advances, to those who had personally injured her.

"But the principle which gave a peculiar colouring to every feature of Isabella's mind, was piety. It shone forth from the very depths of her soul, with a heavenly radiance which illuminated her whole character. Fortunately, her earliest years had been passed in the rugged school of adversity, under the eye of a mother who implanted in her serious mind such strong principles of religion as nothing in after life had power to shake. At an early age, in the flower of youth and beauty, she was introduced to her brother's court ; but its blandishments, so dazzling to a young imagination, had no power over hers, for she was surrounded by a moral atmosphere of purity,

'Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt.'

"Such was the decorum of her manners, that, though encompassed by false friends and open enemies, not the slightest reproach was breathed on her fair name, in this corrupt and calumnious court."—vol. iii. pp. 173-177.

Much of her time was dedicated to prayer. She spared no expenditure in the erection of hospitals and churches. Her works of charity were unbounded. She endowed many monasteries. Among the most conspicuous of her virtues was her humility. Historians blame her, deservedly, for the expulsion of the Jews. There was nothing in the tenour of their conduct, public or private, to justify so harsh a measure. Calumnies of the most infamous description, possessing not a shadow of foundation, were circulated against them ; no inquiry was made into these fabrications ; and, without trial, or process of any description, they were all ordered away *en masse*, and exposed to injury, insult, and persecution, without the slightest cause. Isabella is censured also for permitting the establishment of the Inquisition. The circumstances of the times, when two portions of the population, the Jews and Moors, were, if possible, to be totally driven out of the country, of necessity, perhaps, gave rise to the establishment of some tribunal for examining the claims to exemption from exile of such members of either nation as had conformed to the Catholic faith. "It will also be difficult," as Mr. Prescott very fairly remarks, "to condemn her without condemning the age ; for these very acts are not

only excused, but extolled, by her contemporaries, as constituting her strongest claims to renown, and to the gratitude of her country." It cannot be doubted that the inquisition was continued long after any justifiable pretext could be alleged in its favour, and that the form of its procedure, and the penalties which it inflicted, were altogether adverse to the whole spirit of our Church, and the precepts and example of Him by whom it was founded.

"Where indeed," asks our author, "during the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth century, was the principle of persecution abandoned by the dominant party, whether Catholic or Protestant? And where that of toleration asserted, except by the weaker? It is true, the prevalence of a bad custom cannot constitute its apology. But it should serve much to mitigate our condemnation of the queen, that she fell into no greater error, in the imperfect light in which she lived, than was common to the greatest minds, in a later and far riper period. Even Milton, in his essay on the *Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*—the most splendid argument, perhaps, the world had then witnessed in behalf of intellectual liberty—would exclude popery from the benefits of toleration, as a religion which (according to his opinion) the public good required at all events to be extirpated: such were the crude views of the rights of conscience entertained in the latter half of the seventeenth century, by one of those gifted minds, whose extraordinary elevation enabled it to catch and reflect back the coming light of knowledge, long before it had fallen on the rest of mankind."—vol. iii. pp. 180-181.

To her various other qualities, Isabella added the rarest of all others, that of plain good sense. Her plans, though upon a grand scale, were never visionary. Her encouragement and support of Columbus forms one of the highest passages in her personal history. Her attention to the business of the state was indefatigable. She was known often to have sat up whole nights in dictating dispatches to her secretaries. For a woman, her courage was astonishing. The war against the Moors, and its final success, were entirely the result of her resolution and firmness. "As dangers and difficulties multiplied, she multiplied resources to meet them; and when her soldiers lay drooping under the evils of some protracted siege, she appeared in the midst, mounted on her war-horse, with her delicate limbs cased in knightly mail; and, riding through their ranks, breathed new courage into their hearts, by her own intrepid bearing." The picture will remind the reader of Tasso's Erminia:—

"Col durissimo acciar preme ed offende
 Il delicato collo e l'aurea chioma ;
 E la tenera man lo scudo prende
 Pur troppo grave e insopportabil soma.
 Così tutta di ferro intorno splende,
 E in atto militar sè stessa doma."

Gerusalemme Liberata, canto vi, stanza 92.

Mr. Prescott's parallel between the characters of Isabella and our Elizabeth, is drawn with great discrimination,—a feature, indeed, which will be found throughout the whole of his work :—

"Both were disciplined in early life by the teachings of that stern nurse of wisdom, adversity. Both were made to experience the deepest humiliation at the hands of their nearest relative, who should have cherished and protected them.* Both succeeded in establishing themselves on the throne after the most precarious vicissitudes. Each conducted her kingdom, through a long and triumphant reign, to a height of glory which it had never before reached. Both lived to see the vanity of all earthly grandeur, and to fall the victims of an inconsolable melancholy ; and both left behind an illustrious name, unrivalled in the subsequent annals of their country.

"But with these few circumstances of their history the resemblance ceases. Elizabeth, inheriting a large share of the bold and bluff king Harry's temperament, was haughty, arrogant, coarse, and irascible ; while with these fiercer qualities she mingled deep dissimulation and strange irresolution. Isabella, on the other hand, tempered the dignity of royal station with the most bland and courteous manners. Once resolved, she was constant in her purposes ; and her conduct in public and private life was characterized by candour and integrity. Both may be said to have shown that magnanimity which is implied by the accomplishment of great objects in the face of great obstacles. But Elizabeth was desperately selfish ; she was incapable of forgiving, not merely a real injury, but the slightest affront to her vanity ; and she was merciless in exacting retribution. Isabella, on the other hand, lived only for others,—was ready at all times to sacrifice self to considerations of public duty ; and, far from personal resentment, showed the greatest condescension and kindness to those who had most sensibly injured her ; while her benevolent heart sought every means to mitigate the authorized severities of the law, even towards the guilty.

"Both possessed rare fortitude. Isabella, indeed, was placed in situations which demanded more frequent and higher displays of it

* Miss Strickland's recent volume has shown the inaccuracy of this statement,

than her rival ; but no one will doubt that there was a full measure of this quality in the daughter of Henry VIII. Elizabeth was better educated, and every way more highly accomplished than Isabella ; but the latter knew enough to maintain her station with dignity ; and she encouraged learning by a munificent patronage. The masculine powers and passions of Elizabeth seemed to divorce her in a great measure from the peculiar attributes of her sex, at least from those which constitute its peculiar charm, for she had abundance of its foibles,—a coquetry and love of admiration which age could not chill ; a levity most careless, if not criminal ; and a fondness for dress and tawdry magnificence of ornament which was ridiculous or disgusting, according to the different periods of life in which it was indulged. Isabella, on the other hand, distinguished through life for decorum of manners, and purity beyond the breath of calumny, was content with the legitimate affection which she could inspire within the range of her domestic circle. Far from a frivolous affectation of ornament or dress, she was most simple in her own attire, and seemed to set no value on her jewels, but as they could serve the necessities of the state : when they could be no longer useful in this way, she gave them away to her friends.”—vol. iii. pp. 188-191.

No library, public or private, should be without Mr. Prescott's work. It exhibits industry, research, and, upon the whole, great exemption from prejudices, national or religious. Perhaps we have, as Catholics, a right to complain of some expressions, loose indeed and rare, which are scattered through his volumes. From one word which he uses, viz., “our” religion, in describing the character of Isabella, it would seem as if he were a Catholic himself. But the general tenour of his work gives no countenance to that supposition, as he takes many views of topics which a Catholic would not, most probably, see in the same light. Nevertheless, we accept his history with gratitude. We remark in it a style of writing perfectly idiomatic. Although an American, he has drawn his phraseology uniformly from the “pure well of English undefiled.” He has made a valuable and brilliant contribution to the literature, not only of his own country, but to that of England, and indeed of all Europe. It has been already reprinted in France ; and, we have no doubt, will speedily appear in all the Continental languages.

A work such as Mr. Prescott has accomplished was a great desideratum in the history of European nations. We had been previously much in the dark as to all that relates to the Castilian monarchy before the fifteenth century, and to

the state of the separate kingdoms of Spain before they were comprehended (for we cannot here apply, though the author does, the word "united") under the authority of Ferdinand and Isabella. Mr. Prescott has been at great pains to furnish us with the requisite information upon these important branches of his subject. The career of the Moors in Spain had been already rendered familiar to us by a great many productions, some of them extremely valuable. Every reader of those, or of any of those productions, must, however, have, we suspect, risen from the perusal of them with the same sense of disappointment which we have experienced. The ballads of Spain have thrown around the whole period of the Moorish reign an air of romance, and chivalry, and picturesqueness, which falls away the moment the stern voice of history begins to relate their achievements. The poetry of their existence, their manners, their still and public life, fades into prose, when we are desired to contemplate them in their real, every day character. Florian's fiction is a composition we never could read with pleasure. It is a forced exaggeration, from the beginning to the conclusion; a mere woof of a conceited fancy, covered with tinsel and every sort of tawdry decoration. Mr. Prescott does all he can to realize the visionary ideas by which the Spanish and Moorish minstrels were inspired, when they sung of Abdalla, the Abencerrages, and the charms of the Alhambra: but he has very partially succeeded in his object, although he has spared no pains to attain it. The fact is, that all the romances we read of about the Moors in Spain, resemble very much the mirage of the desert: at a distance, the picture looks enchanting; but the moment we reach the spot which it covered, we perceive it no longer, or, like the golden horns of the rainbow, it retires still before us, a beautiful illusion.

After all, the question unhappily recurs,—what is to be the fate of Spain? Is she to retrograde, to stand still, or to advance in the road of civilization? No doubt can exist, at all events, concerning her fate, so long as it shall be under the direction of its present government, or indeed of any other government which, so far as we perceive, can be constituted out of the materials that at present exist in that country. The only men of mind, of principle, of disinterestedness, religion, and real patriotism, in Spain, are to be found now, where they have always been found before, in the monasteries, or engaged in the active service of the Church. We do not at all misrepresent or exaggerate, when we state our firm belief

that there is scarcely an individual in the present Spanish administration, and very few men in the senate, or chamber of deputies, who are not infidels. We regret to add, that a very great indifference to religion exists generally in Spain, upon the part of those who ought to rank amongst the most intelligent classes of its population. The nobility, whatever may be their external attentions to their spiritual duties, are very far from being examples of true and solid piety. They are, generally speaking, very ignorant and indolent; much given to luxurious modes of living; haughty in the extreme; embarrassed in their pecuniary circumstances; corrupt, venal, and, as they deserve to be, wholly destitute of moral or political influence. The classes immediately below that of the *grandees*,—those, we mean, which in France, before the revolution of 1789, would have been designated as the *noblesse*, are, if possible, still more liable to reproach than even the superior order. They furnish the intriguers for place in all the departments of government. They abound in the Cortes, fill the principal stations in the army, are seen smoking in all the coffee houses of Madrid, and lounging at the *Puerta del Sol* and on the *Prado*. They do not even pay religion the outward homage of attending at its public services; they emulate each other, on the contrary, in ridiculing the functions of the Church, and in sneering at her clergy.

We once heard Mr. Blanco White (a person, unhappily, too notorious in this country for his apostacy), affirm, that to his own knowledge, while he was in the university of Seville, and also serving as a priest on the mission in that city, the greater part of the then students, and more than half the clergy, were mere deists. He confessed that during a very considerable portion of the time, while he acted as chaplain to one of the churches, he celebrated mass almost every day, disbelieving the real presence! He stated that the works of Voltaire and Rousseau were secretly circulated in the university, and read with infinitely more avidity than any books of ethics or theology; and that the offices of the church were sought after solely on account of the pecuniary incomes which they yielded. It may be thought that Mr. White indulged in exaggeration upon this subject, with a view to palliate, in some measure, the viciousness of his own conduct; but we have too much reason to believe that his statement was by no means destitute of foundation.

It is very certain that in the time of Ximenes the moral

and religious demeanour of the Spanish clergy, both in the monasteries and on the mission, called for extensive reform, and found it in the measures so intrepidly undertaken, and so vigorously executed, by that extraordinary man. It is equally certain that after the termination of his career, many of the monastic orders relapsed into their former courses, and that the inferior secular clergy, who were, for the most part placed on the mission at an age much too early for the climate of that country, were very far from being patterns of piety; but we are happy to have it in our power to state, that, even in the worst times, the prelates and dignitaries, and a great majority of the curates, were men of irreproachable lives,—ardent in the performance of their duties; fervid, often eloquent, in their exhortations to the people: and, in all their attentions to the spiritual welfare of their flocks, exemplary and indefatigable.

The persecutions which the ministers of our holy Church in Spain are undergoing at this moment, and have been suffering for some years, have served to display before the world their resolute, and even heroic conduct, in defence of religion, and their just rights and privileges. The wicked decrees of Espartero, countenanced though they be by Cortes, and executed with inexorable and most illegal violence, by his mock tribunals of justice, are encountered in all parts of Spain, by the clergy, with that indomitable courage and noble defiance, which distinguished the primeval martyrs.

One of the latest acts of the *persecutor* was the process which he directed to be issued against the bishop of Plasencia, whose chief *crime*, in the eye of the tyrant, was, that he had published the allocution of the holy father, and, like all the other prelates of Christendom, had issued a pastoral, enjoining his clergy to put up solemn supplications to heaven for the protection of the Church from the hostilities levelled in Spain against it. Read the sentence of the tribunal of *justice*! pronounced in the capital of "Catholic Spain," against this saintly dignitary. It is dated the 14th of July:—

"Our sentence, therefore, is, that the said bishop of Plasencia be confined for two years in some place to be selected by the government, within the province of Cadiz, its capital excepted. We also condemn the said bishop to the payment of all the costs in the cause, warning him at the same time, that he shall be treated with much more severity, should he again be guilty of *excesses* similar to those which he committed in the circulars issued by him in his

episcopal character, on the 31st of May and 15th of August last year ; circulars containing language disrespectful towards the regent and the supreme temporal power of the state ; hostile to the lawful decrees of that power ; advocating the *pontifical* allocation of the first of March of that year ; contravening the ordonnance and royal circular of the 19th of April, and the royal decree of the 29th of June following, as well as the laws therein cited. The circular of the said bishop, moreover, contained several unfounded assertions, calculated to excite men's consciences, and to disturb the public peace."

Thus, as that excellent journal the *Univers* has well remarked, the sentence of condemnation sums up a number of accusations against the bishop, which are, in truth, so many titles of honour. Ancient customs, traditions, and even laws, are altogether set aside, or interpreted erroneously, to the injury of the accused, who has been judged rather according to political views, than by any rules connected with the interests of order and equity. Another process has been lately carried into effect at Burgos, by virtue of which Don Pedro Zarama, the legitimate governor of the diocese of Calahorra and Calzada, delegated to that office by the bishop who has been expelled by the *persecutor* from that see, has been condemned to exile, ten leagues beyond the said diocese for a year, and to all the costs of the cause. The accused was declared guilty of having explained to the government the serious inconveniences which were likely to arise out of the royal decrees concerning the "certificates of adhesion."

It is, however, a great consolation to observe, that the heart of the "Catholic" nation is sound, and that the great mass of the population take every opportunity of applauding the resisting clergy, and of assisting, in greater numbers than ever, at the public functions of the Church. Never were the ceremonies of the holy week, and of the great festival of Corpus Christi, conducted in all parts of Spain with more pomp and splendour ; never were the processions usual upon those occasions attended by greater numbers of the faithful ; never were the rails of the sanctuaries more crowded by communicants, than during the present year. The result of the present conflict between the temporal power and the Church, must eventually be the failure of the former to accomplish its most wanton, unprovoked, and criminal designs, and the complete restoration to religion of all its just and lawful authority.

From the bosom of the Church alone can we expect the

emanation of any transcendent mind, which can grapple with all the difficulties that now weigh down the energies of the country. The influence of religion—and of religion alone—can effect anything like a real and solid union amongst her otherwise heterogeneous kingdoms. In the present imbecile and venal race of infidels who occupy or aspire to the seats of civil authority in Spain, there is not even the shadow of any intelligence which can penetrate, disentangle, and extirpate the inveterate perplexities by which every department of the state is fettered. The whole monarchy is an Augean stable, which a Hercules only can cleanse out; one entire mass of confusion, from which only a second Ximenes can draw out and firmly re-combine the elements of order.

ART. III.—*Animal Chemistry, or Organic Chemistry in its application to Physiology and Pathology.* By Justin Liebig, M.D., PH.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen. Edited from the author's manuscript, by William Gregory, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Professor of Medicine and Chemistry in the University and King's College, Aberdeen. London: 1842.

THERE is not, perhaps, any science more attractive than chemistry; its enquiries are so important, its facts so striking; its principles are so applicable to ordinary purposes, and so well calculated to secure and increase the comforts and the luxuries of life, that its general cultivation cannot but be attended with the best and happiest results. From chemistry the physician derives the power of removing disease, or mitigating its painfulness; from it the manufacturer obtains the means of improving his wares, and facilitating their production; and thus,—while he receives the reward of enterprise and industry,—of placing those enjoyments which were once within the power only of the wealthy and the few, in the possession of the indigent and the many. From chemistry the agriculturist has learned to cultivate the sterile soil, and to derive still more abundant treasures from that which is fruitful; and the philosopher is rewarded in its pursuit, by the additions he makes to his stores of knowledge, and the pleasure he enjoys in discovering the admirable simplicity of those laws by which a wise Creator has formed and perpetuated his glorious works.

While medicine is highly indebted to the science of che-

mistry, nothing, on the other hand, contributed more to the improvement of the latter, than the importance it acquired from its connexion with the healing art. Many substances, indeed, were used for a long period by the physician, before his chemical knowledge was sufficient to explain their constitution, or their mode of operating on the animal body; but, it is evident that, until chemistry enlightened men on the nature and properties of the remedies they used, their employment of them must have been made at great hazard always, and not unfrequently have been attended with even fatal results.

The study of medical chemistry is not confined to the prevention, or the cure of disease; it takes a wider range; it examines the wants of the animal economy from its chemical constitution, and tests, by an enquiry into the nature of their elements, the fitness of the various species of nutriment for their intended purposes; it seeks out antidotes for the baneful substances which may be administered through accident or design; and, finally, it aids the law in the protection of human life, by detecting those unseen, but not the less fatal, means of destruction which become mingled, as it were, with the very being of the victim, and which chemistry alone can discover.

An attempt to prove that the most humble and ordinary operations of domestic economy are strictly chemical, ought to be almost superfluous:—every one knows, for instance, that meat is preserved by sugar, salt, or alcohol; everyone, however, does not know that its preservation is due to the affinity of the salt, sugar, or alcohol, for water; by combining with which, they remove from the meat a quantity of moisture, which is indispensably necessary to putrefaction:—the application, therefore, of a simple chemical principle enables us to keep meat for a very long period, in a state capable of affording a nourishing and agreeable food. But chemistry has not stopped here; salt meat, when we are not obliged to confine ourselves exclusively to it, is wholesome and nutritious; it is very different when, as in long voyages, nothing else in the shape of animal food can be obtained; its continued use is then not only disagreeable, but highly injurious to the health. Let us, however, exclude the air which, also, as chemistry teaches us, is required for putrefaction, and we can preserve for almost any period, and in any climate, fresh, or fit for immediate use, those species of provision, which in no place are so much required as upon the wide ocean, but which, until lately, were in none so unlikely to be obtained. The yeast which is put into the dough to commence ferment-

ation, produces chemical changes in the bread, that render it more palatable, and more wholesome, and, by disengaging a gas which keeps its particles at a greater distance from each other, causes it to be lighter and more easily digested. We prevent the action of the oxygen of the atmosphere on iron-work, &c. by excluding the air with substances which contain little or no oxygen, or contain it in a combination from which it will not be liberated. The washing of clothes depends on the nature and chemical action of soaps, a portion of the constituents of which unites with the greasy substance to be removed, renders it soluble, and thus puts it into a state which allows it to be washed away:—some species of water are unsuitable for the purpose: chemistry explains this; for water containing earths or metallic oxydes decomposes alkaline soap, forming a species which does not unite with greasy matter, nor, therefore, make it soluble; but, on the contrary, being itself incapable of solution, it obstinately adheres to the cloth.

The laundress prefers to dry her clothes in the sunshine, and in the pure air of the country; experience has taught her the effect, chemistry reveals the cause—that light and air, by combining oxygen with the colouring matters, produce colourless compounds, and impart the whiteness she so much desires, but which could hardly be obtained in the gloom and confined air of a large town. The blowing of a fire by the ordinary bellows augments its heat by increasing that chemical action from which it arises—the union of the elements of the combustible with the oxygen of the air, the supporter of combustion:—this principle, further developed, has given rise to the most important improvements in lamps and furnaces.

These and very many others are not less chemical processes than those which are effected in the laboratory, and we may be certain that they are correctly executed only so far as they are in perfect accordance with the principles of chemical science. There is no doubt that many of them were performed before chemistry was even thought of, and they are yet the business of those who have scarcely even heard, perhaps, of the subject; but it is not the less true, that an acquaintance with its more simple principles, would be highly calculated to perfect many processes already known, and, in a number of instances, to point out others which should be found of more easy execution, and of equal, or even greater efficiency.

A want of elementary knowledge has often lead to troublesome, but useless operations:—thus, it is a common opinion among thrifty housekeepers, that, by manufacturing soap with

snow, while they add to its bulk and weight, they increase its quantity. But they are not aware that they deceive themselves, by doing that which the dishonest trader often does for the purpose of imposing on his customers, that he may make them pay for water the price of soap:—they merely combine water with the soap, which may be done to a very large amount without affecting its hardness. Such a mistake indicates an ignorance of chemistry, but it also indicates a want or neglect of the most ordinary powers of reasoning. They must be aware that snow water, like any other, will, if boiled away, leave almost nothing behind; no solid substance therefore was contained in the snow; it consequently had nothing whence any real addition to the soap could arise, and therefore, however the appearance of the latter may be changed, water only could have been added to it.

A great variety of manufactures depend more or less on chemistry:—thus, the dyer could not advance a single step without its assistance. He learns from it the substances which produce and modify colour; those which are permanent in the tints they give, and those which are easily changed; the preparation of the cloth, and the mode of combining it with the colouring matters. The tanner has discovered from this science, that principle of the bark, &c. which is capable of rendering the skin insoluble and imputrescible; by its direct application, he can form the necessary combination almost immediately, and the process which formerly required several months, is now abbreviated to little more, and sometimes less, than as many days. The manufacturer of glass having learned that glass is a chemical compound, and become perfectly acquainted with its nature, its proper constituents, and their various proportions,—with the methods by which it is rendered colourless, more easily fluidified, and more dense, has been enabled greatly to improve the appearance of this beautiful substance, and, by producing it at a less cost, to place the comfort and convenience it affords within the reach of the most limited means. The manufacturer of porcelain, by the aid of chemistry, can rival, and even exceed, the artists of India in the richness and permanency of his tints, in the beauty and durability of his productions. In discovering the real nature of porcelain, he has found out, what for so long a period had rendered ours so greatly inferior to that of countries where the arts were far less successfully cultivated. The soap-boiler, by a chemical process, extracts from the ashes the alkali he requires; he combines it

with fat acids to form a salt, and to the extent he pleases, separates it from the water in which it was dissolved by availing himself of his knowledge of chemical affinity. The builder calls chemistry to his aid in the formation of his cements, and in the preservation of his timber from the injurious effects of time and damp. No art is more indebted to chemistry than that by which the metals are separated from the impurities with which they are united in the ores from whence they are derived, and are prepared for the endless variety of purposes to which they are applied. Chemistry has lighted our streets, and thus made them more agreeable and secure; has enabled us to repel the enemy from our shores; and, while it has rendered war itself more difficult and more dreadful, it has, by lessening the propensities of mankind towards it, happily turned their efforts to the cultivation of the arts of peace. Agriculture never approached to perfection until it adopted chemistry as its most favoured auxiliary, and we cannot but wonder that their very intimate connexion was not sooner discovered:—are we not assured by reason itself, that the elements of the plant must evidently be derived, either from the soil or the atmosphere—they can have no other source, unless indeed we consider them to be created according as they are wanting, a supposition which no person of common sense would now venture to defend,—consequently, the most important items in our agricultural knowledge must be, an acquaintance with the constituents of plants; and the power of distinguishing between those of them which are derived from the atmosphere and those which are taken from the soil. If the ground in which the plant is intended to be grown do not contain what it should be expected to impart, or if it contain any substance that is injurious, it would be foolish to assert that it is possible the plant can ever grow, or, if it grow, that it can ever come to perfection. These considerations demonstrate at once the necessity of manures, which can be advantageously applied only when we are aware they contain the elements that are wanting, or are capable of neutralizing those in the soil which are calculated to produce an injurious effect. These important matters can be learned only from chemical enquiry, the want of which no experience will adequately supply, however great the amount of time consumed, or money wasted in its acquisition.

Although the perfection to which the science of chemistry has reached is comparatively of recent date, its origin is

involved in considerable obscurity, and the very derivation of its name is a matter of great uncertainty. The earliest work that has come down to us, in which we find the word chemistry (*Xημεία*) used, is that of Suidas, who lived about the eleventh century,—though we have reason to believe it was employed long before his time. He describes chemistry as the art of “preparing gold and silver.” The ancients do not appear to have been acquainted with chemistry, as a science; it is wholly derived from the experiments of the alchymists, from the observations of those whose arts and manufactures were connected with, or depended on it, and from the enquiries of those who subsequently cultivated it. The Arabians became chemists from the necessity of compounding the medicines they prescribed, and thus arose the discovery of acids, and their action upon metals. Geber, who lived in the eighth century, would seem to have been acquainted with most of the chemical processes known till the eighteenth century, but it is ascertained that this science, or at least alchymy, its precursor, was cultivated by the Chinese even before the Christian era: like the enthusiasts of Europe in later times, and of course with the same success, they sought after the “philosopher’s stone,” and the “universal medicine.” However, they very early brought some of the arts which are intimately connected with chemistry to considerable perfection; and we are beginning to adopt, with great advantage, those notions with reference to animal manure, which they have held for many centuries.

Alchymy—derived from the Arabic “al” and “chemia,” a word said to be of Egyptian origin—was the parent of chemistry; it was cultivated by the Greeks; from them it passed to the Arabians, who brought it into Europe. Its great principle was, “that all the metals are compounds of the same ingredients, and that gold, therefore, may be formed from them, by removing those impurities with which it combined, and which give rise to the different properties of the different metallic bodies.” The substance supposed to be capable of effecting this important transmutation, was called the “philosopher’s stone.” Alchymy flourished most from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The works of the alchymists abound with curious facts, but, unfortunately, also with the most unintelligible jargon, introduced partly through ignorance, and partly to conceal, at least from the uninitiated, the wonderful secrets which they believed, or pretended to believe, they possessed. The following, for instance, is a method of making the philosopher’s stone, ascribed to Herme

Trismegistus: "Accipe de humore unciam unam et mediam, et de rubore meridionali, id est anima solis, quartam partem, id est unciam mediam, et de Seyre citrino, similiter unciam mediam, et de auripigmenti dimidium, quæ sunt octo, id est unciae tres. Scitote quod vitis sapientium in tribus extrahitur, ejusque vinum in fine triginta peragitur." The object to be kept in view, was expressed as follows by the alchemists:—

"Si fixum solvas faciesque volare solutum,
Et volucrum figas faciet te vivere tutum."

It is extraordinary what credit these impostors obtained, and what hopes they raised in the credulous. They often sought to enrich themselves by the plunder of the avaricious, whom they duped; but they were not unfrequently ruined themselves, as well as their victims, by the experiments they made,—at the expense of time, and money, and sometimes even of health and life itself. Such is the desire of becoming suddenly rich, and of exchanging the pains and the neglects of poverty for what is deemed to be the happiness and influence of wealth, that ignorance and credulity are ever ready to grasp at any means, however absurd, of obtaining the riches they so much desire; and they never fail to ascribe to imaginary causes that rapid attainment of wealth, for which they cannot otherwise account. The very same passions instigated the alchemists and their votaries, as that which causes, even yet, so many to dream of the hidden treasures, for which they continue to dig, undismayed by many an obstacle, and undeterred by many a disappointment.

The alchemists endeavoured to discover a universal remedy for disease, and many of them believed that the "philosopher's stone," which they fancied could transmute the baser into the nobler metal, would be equally efficacious in changing sickness into health: and hence, to a search for the means of producing gold, was subsequently joined that of a remedy for every disease.

Among the host of enthusiasts who devoted themselves to alchymy, Paracelsus, born at Zurich in 1493, was probably the most celebrated. He greatly contributed to the overthrow of his favourite art, by carrying it to the highest pitch of absurdity. He was not less remarkable for the changes he introduced into the science of chemistry, particularly with reference to medicine, than for the extent of the imposture he practised. To him, however, must be assigned, in a great degree, the credit of reviving a conviction of the importance

of observing the operations of nature: he strongly urged the necessity of investigation, and established the futility of having recourse to occult causes,—the resource of ignorance, and the means of perpetuating it, by closing the door against enquiry. His researches directed universal attention to the subject; and although in some cases he was deceived himself, and in many was anxious to deceive others, there is no doubt that he displayed considerable talent, and to his works may be attributed much of the interest excited in those who afterwards distinguished themselves by successful and laborious research.

With Van Helmont alchymy may be said to have ended: that of rational chemistry succeeded. It became thenceforward the object, to rescue facts from the mass of absurdities in which they were enveloped. But sound reasoning and rational experiment advanced only by degrees, and the cherished opinions which, erroneous as they were, had so long occupied the minds even of philosophers, were not to be easily overturned.

Beecher selected and arranged the facts which chemistry then afforded, and the publication, in 1669, of his *Physica Subterranea*, may be considered as the commencement of an important period in the advancement of the science. Ernest Stahl adopted and so much improved the theory of his master, that it was called, from his name, the “Stahlian theory.” To Stahl succeeded many illustrious and successful cultivators of chemistry.

Stahl supposes all bodies to contain a combustible element, which they lose by being burned, but which they may regain from other substances; this element he called *Phlogiston*. But in opposition to his opinion, it was found, that sometimes when bodies were burned their weight was increased, and that an element called oxygen was removed from the atmosphere: these facts overturned the phlogistic, and gave rise to the anti-phlogistic theory. Chemistry was greatly advanced by the labours of Fourcroy, &c. in simplifying its language, and by those of Sir H. Davy, who, with the aid of galvanism—applied to the decomposition of substances which had hitherto resisted the efforts of the chymist—discovered new elements, and found that the fixed alkalies, and the earths, except perhaps one, were combinations of oxygen and the metals. The discovery of the law of “definite proportions” has greatly added to our chemical knowledge;—it has been placed beyond a doubt by the exact analyses of Vauquelin, Gay Lussac, &c.,

and has given to us a certainty in experimental research, which is hardly inferior to that derived from mathematical enquiry.

That substances unite only in certain proportions, is known to the mere beginner;—we from this fact naturally conclude, that the mutual chemical attraction exerted between different bodies, is exercised between the *atoms individually*, and not between the *masses*,—that is, that an atom of one will attract one, two, three, or more atoms of another. For if the attraction were between the masses,—or, in other words, if a *mass* of one substance attracted a *mass* of another, we should have perfect combinations with any quantities; for the mass of one would not the less attract the mass of the other, because it was capable of attracting more, were it present. On the other hand, if the attraction were between the particles, as soon as we should present such an amount of a given substance as would have a number of atoms equal to, or some multiple of the number of those of another body for which it has an affinity, combination would cease, and—as is well known does occur—an additional quantity would be only mechanically *mixed*, but not chemically combined. Now if we attempt to unite more than eight ounces or eight pounds of oxygen to one ounce or one pound of hydrogen, the additional quantity will be left unchanged, and only nine ounces or nine pounds of water will be formed:—supposing water, then, to be a binary compound,—that is, a union of one atom of one of its elements with one of the other,—which must be established, however, by independent reasoning—we shall have as many atoms in one ounce of hydrogen as in eight of oxygen; the weights of the atoms will therefore be as the weights of the masses, or as one to eight: of course the absolute number of atoms, and, by consequence, the absolute weight of each, is out of the question. Then, if 1 be considered as the representative of the weight of an atom of hydrogen, 8 will represent that of an atom of oxygen; and 1 and 8 will be their relative or atomic weights, or as they are called, their “chemical equivalents.” It happens, as indeed we should expect, that there is a perfect agreement between the relative proportions in which bodies unite, whatever may be the different combinations produced by them. Thus, if we throw potassium on water, the latter will be decomposed, oxide of potassium formed, and hydrogen liberated; if we now pass sulphuretted hydrogen (a combination of an atom of sulphur and an atom of hydrogen), through the solution of

oxide of potash, the oxygen of the potash will be replaced by sulphur, and the hydrogen liberated from the sulphur will just saturate the oxygen liberated from the oxide of potassium, and reproduce water. Hence, having once discovered the relative weights of the elements of bodies, we can tell, *a priori*, in what proportions they must unite, if they unite at all:—for instance, 8 being the atomic weight of oxygen, and 14.15 that of nitrogen, we might anticipate that 8 or 16 or 24 or &c. oxygen would combine with 14.15 nitrogen; or 14.15 or 28.30 or 42.45 or &c. nitrogen with 8 oxygen; or that perhaps, as is the case, more than one of these combinations would be possible. These important facts have given rise to what is called the “atomic theory,” now universally admitted. The relative weights of all the elements, and most of their known combinations, have been ascertained with considerable accuracy, hydrogen, the lightest, being generally taken as the standard. The delicacy of the experiments used for this important purpose, may be conceived from the fact mentioned by Berzelius, that in several of the analyses the results differed, only by the ten-thousandth part of the substance examined.

The admission of the doctrine of definite proportions sets at rest the question concerning the infinite divisibility of matter, for it teaches us that, whatever *might have been* the case, the number of parts into which it is possible to divide any portion of matter is determined, and that, therefore, as far as we are concerned, the number in a given body, and their shape, is absolutely fixed, so that neither time nor friction, however it may separate the particles, can alter their number or their figure.

The extreme minuteness of the ultimate atoms of matter is inconceivable; it can easily be shewn that the amount in a given space may be enormous. This will be evident, from the delicacy of the various *tests* with which we ascertain the presence of the different elements and their compounds, &c. Some examples are very striking:—ferrocyanide of potassium will give a blue tint to an exceedingly dilute solution of a salt of iron. Starch will strike a blue, with water containing a very minute portion of free iodine. Five pounds of water will be coloured crimson by one grain of aloetic acid; the thousandth of a grain of this,—that is, the thirty-five millionth part of a grain of the acid,—may be *seen*: this inconceivably small quantity may, however, contain a great number of atoms. Many such examples might be given.

While the proofs of the doctrine of "definite proportions" from solids and fluids are very striking, those from the gases are not less so: the latter unite not only in definite weights, but in definite volumes also; and the volume of the compound formed by them, bears a very simple ratio to that of the elements which produce it. Chemistry ascertains the number of the elements, their different properties, and mutual actions. It effects this either by analysis, synthesis, or by both. Synthesis is often more difficult than analysis, and not unfrequently it is altogether impossible; but the demonstration it affords, when it can be effected, leaves nothing further to be desired. Chemistry is a science almost entirely founded on experiments; the facts it discloses are inexhaustible; scarcely any one has cultivated it, who has not added in some degree to the mass of knowledge.

The great foundation of success in chemical researches is an acquaintance with what are called the affinities of bodies, that is, their tendencies to unite with each other, and thus form definite compounds, differing greatly from their constituents,—particularly when the affinity by which they combine is powerful. Did we know the affinities of all the elements, and the properties of the compounds they produce, our acquaintance with chemistry would be perfect; but the wide field of observation which still remains unexplored, while it reminds us of how much is yet to be done, must stimulate industry, since it is almost sure to be rewarded by new facts, and, it may be, by new and important principles.

The changes produced by chemical affinity are very curious,—this is true not merely as to colour, shape, &c., but as to the very nature of the bodies produced: thus both carbonic acid and carbonic oxide are perfectly harmless when taken into the stomach; but let them be chemically combined and they form that dreadful poison, oxalic acid. Carbon is quite a harmless substance, so also are hydrogen and nitrogen; and yet, chemically united, they form prussic acid, the most rapidly fatal of all poisons. On the other hand, substances the most destructive are made by chemistry inert, or even useful to the animal functions. Oxalic acid is no longer poisonous when combined with lime,—itself a caustic and corrosive body. Chlorine and sodium are most violent in their actions, but chemically combined they constitute common table salt.

Affinity is modified by a variety of causes—heat, light, electricity, &c. Sometimes, but rarely, however, we can

disunite the elements without forming new combinations; thus, if we heat oxide of mercury, oxygen will be disengaged, and the mercury reduced. Merely moving chloride of azote will cause its elements to separate with the utmost violence: this separation of constituents we call decomposition. Sometimes the elements of the decomposed substance will merely arrange themselves so as to form new combinations: thus, if we heat nitrate of ammonia, which consists of nitric acid and ammonia, or two atoms nitrogen, three atoms hydrogen, and five oxygen, three atoms water and two atoms nitrous oxide will result: sometimes a substance shall decompose one compound and produce another; this is called "single decomposition." Thus, if we add sulphuric acid to nitrate of barytes, the barytes will leave the nitric and unite with the sulphuric acid; and nitrate will be changed into sulphate of barytes, nitric acid being set free. If we mix nitric acid and carbonate of barytes, the carbonic acid will be driven off, and nitrate of barytes will be formed. If we add ammonia to this it will produce no effect, but if we add *carbonate* of ammonia it will afford us an example of "double decomposition;" that is, of the decomposition of two compounds, with the formation of two others,—the nitrate of barytes and carbonate of ammonia will give nitrate of ammonia and carbonate of barytes. The affinity of the ammonia for the nitric acid was not of itself sufficient to separate it from the barytes, nor the affinity of the barytes for carbonic acid sufficient to separate it from the ammonia; but when the affinity of the nitric acid was assisted by that of the carbonic acid, both compounds were decomposed, and new ones formed.

The affinities of bodies are sometimes apparently contradictory; thus, according to circumstances, water may be produced by the decomposition of oxide of iron, or oxide of iron by the decomposition of water. For if hydrogen be passed over heated oxide of iron, water will be formed and metallic iron be reduced; but if steam be passed through a heated iron tube, water will be decomposed, oxide of iron formed, and hydrogen set free. If we add a solution of chloride of calcium to one of carbonate of ammonia, sal ammoniac and carbonate of lime will be formed, but if we dry and heat this mixture, we shall reproduce chloride of calcium and carbonate of ammonia, the original substances. In obtaining the elements and their compounds we avail ourselves of what has been called "elective affinity;" for one substance may have an affinity for many, but a much stronger for one than another: thus, if we put silver into

nitric acid, the silver will be dissolved; if we put copper into the solution of silver in nitric acid, the copper will unite with the nitric acid, and pure silver will be thrown down; if we remove this silver, and add iron, metallic copper will be precipitated.

This principle enables us to discover, with great certainty, the nature and amount of the substances contained in compounds. For by forming new bodies we change colourless into coloured solutions; or by rendering a substance insoluble, which before was in solution, we obtain what are termed precipitates, and which may be separated, and their nature and quantity determined. Ammonia will form, with the solution of a salt of copper, a beautiful blue solution. Sulphuric acid will form, from the solution of a salt of barytes, insoluble sulphate of barytes. If I suspect the presence of sulphuric acid, I add the solution of a salt of barytes; or, on the other hand, if I suspect the presence of barytes, I add sulphuric acid; for I know that so great is the mutual affinity of sulphuric acid and barytes, that they will leave any substances and unite together. Such bodies are said to be "tests" for each other; they are often, but not always, the same as those we use for determining the *amount* of a given ingredient; thus, knowing the invariable ratio in which substances combine, if we wash, dry, and weigh the precipitated sulphate of barytes, just mentioned, we can ascertain the quantity of the sulphuric acid, or of the barytes, which was present. Ferrocyanide of potassium is an exceedingly delicate test for iron, but we use other means to ascertain the *amount* of that metal.

It has been mentioned that we can determine the chemical constitution of bodies in two ways,—by the analytical, and by the synthetical, but that the former is in many cases impossible,—in some it will perhaps always remain so: thus, there are many organic substances which it is likely that chemists will never be able to produce. We can tell with great certainty the elements of muscular fibre, and yet we cannot form it. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that modern research has advanced very far in the attainment of accurate knowledge, with reference to the formation and relations of complicated organic substances, and we cannot tell what it may ultimately effect. We now know the intimate connexion which exists between woody fibre, starch, sugar, alcohol, &c. We can even form one from another, and fill up the chain between two bodies,—woody fibre and

alcohol,—which at first seem to have no connexion; thus, alcohol may be formed from linen. But although we are quite sure that woody fibre consists of oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, and certain salts in small quantities, we cannot form it from these constituents; and, although we can produce alcohol from woody fibre, we cannot change alcohol back again to woody fibre. There is in each animal and vegetable, as it were, a laboratory, whose delicacy in the formation of organic substances we must admire, but cannot rival, and with the nature of which, though it presents itself perpetually to our view, we are almost wholly unacquainted; so much do the simplest and most ordinary works of the Creator exceed the utmost ingenuity of man. We have given the name of “vitality” to the principle required for the production of organic compounds, but further than this we know little or nothing about it; under the influence of this principle, these compounds are formed as a portion of the organization of the plant or animal. For their production, affinities the most delicate are unerringly put into action; temperatures the most critical are maintained; circumstances the most complicated and indispensable are secured; and the resulting effect is infinitely superior to the very best of our comparatively clumsy work.

Vitality appears in some cases to be a principle opposed to that of chemical action, as far as we are acquainted with it, and one may seem to be suspended while the other is in operation; hence it is only when the animal or vegetable *dies* that ordinary chemical affinity begins to produce an effect.

The inorganic compounds are generally formed without much difficulty; hence these compositions may be established in most cases both analytically and synthetically: thus, we can get oxygen and hydrogen from water, or we can produce water from oxygen and hydrogen. And the successful inquiries of modern chemists are gradually removing the difficulties which formerly existed on this point. We were once obliged to content ourselves with proving the composition of ammonia by the decomposition of that which we found ready formed, and we could thus tell with great certainty that it consists of three atoms hydrogen and one nitrogen; but we can now, if we please, form it from these elements, by taking advantage of a very simple but important principle—that bodies in the nascent state, or at the moment of being liberated from combination with others, exhibit affinities either

more powerful or in circumstances more favourable for producing effect. Sometimes substances may be extremely simple in their character, and perfectly well known as to their constitution, yet, from the absence of some condition unknown, or impossible to us, but yet indispensable, we may be unable to produce them. Thus, we are quite certain that the diamond is nothing more nor less than charcoal; we can even get charcoal from it; but still the utmost effort of human ingenuity has never been known to form a single diamond; although few things are more commonly the subjects of use or inquiry than the charcoal, which constitutes it. Again, chalk is carbonate of lime, and white marble is carbonate of lime; nevertheless, their properties are extremely different. We find marble pillars, in some of the old churches of England, that have evidently been cast in a mould, and learned men were for a long time unable to conceive how this was effected; these pillars afforded another proof that very barbarous times and people may be acquainted with some things which science cannot explain or even imitate. When an attempt was made to fuse either marble or chalk, long before the necessary temperature was reached, the substance was decomposed,—such an elasticity was given to the carbonic acid that it separated from the lime, the atmospheric pressure on the surface of the chalk or marble being easily overcome. But if we endeavour to imitate nature, we can effect what seemed before impossible. Marble is produced by the fusion of carbonate of lime under such a pressure as that even the elasticity imparted to carbonic acid by intense heat, is not able to overcome it,—being formed by volcanic agency, under enormous masses of rock, &c. Whatever may be the tendency to decomposition, it cannot occur, since it is impossible for the carbonic acid to escape;—we have therefore only to heat carbonate of lime, whether as chalk or marble, under great pressure, and we can fuse, and even cast it in a mould.

Circumstances, seemingly trifling, produce in chemistry very serious differences of result. Thus we could mention cases in which the very shape of the vessel we use, the fact of our pouring one substance over another, or the latter over the former, &c., are important. Sometimes we must use dilute, at other times concentrated, solutions. In many processes the temperature is of deep moment; thus, strong sulphuric acid will not dissolve iron except at its boiling point; its affinity for water not allowing the latter to be decomposed, except at a high temperature. The precipitate of carbonate

of lime, which we obtain at ordinary temperature, is not exactly the same as that we formed at a higher.

The affinity of one body for another may be so strong as that it shall even cause the latter to be produced; thus, caustic lime has such a tendency to unite with carbonic acid, that if it be mixed with an organic substance it will decompose the latter, and form carbonic acid from some of its elements. In the same way, the affinity of sulphuric acid for water causes it to decompose wood, &c.

From what has been said of the marked difference which generally exists between inorganic and organic substances, it is easy to see that chemistry naturally divides itself into two great branches—that which treats of inorganic, and that which treats of organic, compounds; or those which belong to, or result from, bodies possessing the organs of reproduction, &c. The former is the chemistry of the mineral, the latter that of the vegetable and animal kingdom. Inorganic chemistry is already extremely perfect: although its compounds are very numerous, they are not all of equal interest or importance; indeed, strictly speaking, none of much consequence which do not either directly or indirectly contribute to some useful object; though it must be kept in mind that the number of practically useful bodies is continually increasing; for closer investigation, by discovering its properties, not unfrequently ascertains the utility of a compound. Thus, the combinations of iodine, bromine, &c., have become very interesting from their connexion with the daguerreotype process. Chemistry teaches us that hardly any substance is perfectly useless; “soap-boiler’s waste,” though rejected by the manufacturer of soap, is of the deepest importance to the alum-maker; and the most disgusting substances are found to be the most valuable manures.

Inorganic chemistry treats of the elements of bodies, and their simpler combinations; these combinations have their constituents in an extremely simple ratio, and may be generally formed by uniting the latter; on the other hand, the combinations discovered in organic chemistry are extremely complicated, and can very seldom be produced by direct and chemical union of the elements,—the ratio between which is very intricate, and not unfrequently but imperfectly known,—though it must be admitted that this intricacy is much diminished by fuller and more accurate enquiry, which tends to bring the proportions to multiples of the atomic weight by whole numbers. Organic chemistry includes among its

compounds many of those which belong to inorganic;—thus, oxalic acid, phosphate of lime, &c. some of which, from being in such small quantities, were long neglected as unimportant, or even little more than accidentally present, are now known to exercise the most important functions;—thus, the silicate of potash contained in manure was not even thought necessary to the preparation of soils for the cultivation of the grasses; yet it is of all other things the most indispensable to them, and is the substance, by the removal of which they, perhaps, most exhaust the ground, and thus render their uninterrupted cultivation impossible. Inorganic compounds include combinations of all the elements; organic bodies consist principally of oxygen, hydrogen, azote, and carbon,—various salts in small quantities being also present—the oxygen and hydrogen are, for the most part, as water, or at least, in the proportions required to form it.

Some things were once considered to be the elementary substances of which bodies were composed, that in reality did not enter into their constitution, or were themselves compounds, or even mixtures of many compounds,—thus, fire and water, and earth and air. The cultivation of chemistry has greatly added to the number of the elements; these may be still further increased, or possibly, some which are now considered elementary, may hereafter be proved to be compound bodies;—one thing, however, we can anticipate from the results of past enquiry, that the more we know of the laws which Providence has instituted for the government of the material world, the more beautiful and effective, but at the same time the more simple, they will appear.

We at present count fifty-five elements. It is not easy to classify these in such a way as shall be quite unobjectionable. When compounds are decomposed by the Galvanic battery, some of their elements go to the positive, and others to the negative pole. But since it is a well known property of electricity, that bodies positively electrified attract those which are negative, and *vice versa*, it has been naturally inferred that substances attracted by the negative pole are electropositive, and those attracted by the positive pole electronegative,—indeed, there is no doubt that the affinities of bodies and their electrical state are intimately connected. Hence arose the division of the elements into electropositive and electronegative; and, did the same element always go to the same pole, this division would be very valuable; but, unfortunately, it is found that it depends on the substance with

which an element is combined, whether it shall go to the one pole or the other,—that is, a body may be electropositive in one compound, and electronegative in another.

Again, the elements have been divided into combustibles and supporters of combustion; this, although an excellent division, is not free from objections, for the same element may, in different circumstances, be either the one or the other;—thus, sulphur will be a combustible when it unites with oxygen, but a supporter when, for instance, in the state of vapour it combines with copper leaf; in such a case, even heat and light, which accompany only *vivid* combustion, will be developed. Besides, when hydrogen and oxygen combine to form water, how shall we be certain whether the oxygen burns the hydrogen, or the hydrogen the oxygen—the action exerted is perfectly mutual as far as we know.

The beginner is at first startled by finding certain substances among the combustibles which he believes are not capable of being burned,—thus gold: but he soon discovers, that combustion is nothing more than the union of any substance with one of the class of bodies to which oxygen—long considered as the only supporter of combustion—belongs; that what is ordinarily called combustion, is merely one of a great number of similar effects; that oxygen, although generally, is not necessarily the supporter; that though heat and light are frequently developed during combustion, it may really occur without either the one or the other.

The simplest combinations of the elements constitute neutral bodies—including mere oxides—acids or bases—including basic oxides; the combination of acids and bases gives rise to what are called salts:—thus, carbon, a combustible, and oxygen, a supporter, will form a compound having the properties neither of an acid nor a base,—carbonic oxide: phosphorus, a combustible, and oxygen, a supporter, will form an acid. Sodium, a combustible, and oxygen will form a base; the acid produced by the phosphorus and oxygen, and the base produced by the sodium and oxygen, will, if combined, constitute the salt called phosphate of soda.

An acid is generally recognized by its changing vegetable blues to red, and forming salts with bases,—the former indication cannot, however, be always obtained;—thus, silica has no effect on vegetable blues, but it forms salts with bases; boracic acid, while it reddens litmus paper, changes the yellow of turmeric to brown, which is characteristic of an alkali. A basic oxide may be either a fixed alkali—which

can be known by its effect on turmeric paper, and its making an infusion of red cabbage green—thus potash; or an alkaline earth, so called from its exhibiting alkaline properties—thus lime: or an earth proper—as allumina; or a metallic oxide—as, for instance, the rust of iron. All the basic oxides may be recognized by forming salts with acids. If we combine an acid with an alkali, we form an alkaline salt; if with an earth, an earthy salt; if with a metallic oxide, a metallic salt. Some salts are insoluble, some, though insoluble in one liquid, are soluble in another: thus, sub-carbonate of potash is soluble in water, but not in alcohol. Some are more or less soluble as we raise or lower the temperature of the menstruum. Some are easily crystallized, others with difficulty, or not at all.

The symbols and nomenclature of chemistry are extremely simple:—thus, we represent a substance by the first letter of its Latin or English name, as K, potassum (kalium), C, carbon; or, if the first letter be already appropriated, by the first and some other letter, as Ni, nickel, Sn, tin (stannum). We generally mark the number of atoms of any element by a small index placed under it:—thus, CO_2 expresses carbonic acid, and indicates that the compound consists of one atom of carbon and two of oxygen. The name of the substance, as far as possible, announces its composition:—thus, the expression *sulphuric acid* teaches us many things,—that the compound is an *acid*, that the substance acidified is *sulphur*, that the acidifying principle is *oxygen*,—"hydro" not being prefixed—and—*ic* being added that the sulphur is in the highest state of oxidation, known at least when this name was given to it. If a higher degree of oxidation have been discovered, we can express it by prefixing "per"—thus, chloric acid contains five atoms of oxygen, *per* chloric acid, seven. Again, let us suppose that we find the words *sulphate of potash*; we learn from this that *sulphur* acidified constitutes the acid; the termination "ate" tells us that the name of the acid ends in "ic," hence we have *sulphuric acid* present; the base is *potassium*, and this is in the form of an oxide, since it is united with a body acidified with oxygen. There is only one atom of acid united to one of base, for it is "sulphate," and not "acid," or "bi-sulphate"; there is only one atom of base to an atom of acid, since it is not "basic" or "di"-sulphate. Not only the acid but the base may be in different states of oxidation,—thus, we may have sulphate of iron containing either the protoxide or peroxide of that metal; if the former, we call it a "proto"-

salt, if the latter, a "per"-salt of iron. Some substances will combine with oxygen so as to form either an acid or a base, as, for instance, arsenic, which forms oxide of arsenic, arsenic acid, &c.

When supporters of combustion change place, the relative number of atoms is generally preserved:—thus, if oxide is changed into chloride of iron, protoxide becomes protochloride, peroxide perchloride; this is not always the case:—thus, peroxide of manganese becomes chloride, but then the second atom of oxygen is, as it were, loosely combined; hence, on digesting the peroxide with sulphuric acid, this atom will be driven off, sulphate of the protoxide being formed.

Chemical compounds may combine with each other:—thus, common alum is a combination of sulphate of potash and sulphate of alumina; oxide of copper united with the chloride forms oxychloride of copper.

The number of atoms of acid bears an interesting relation to the number of atoms of oxygen in the base of a salt: thus potash has only one atom of oxygen, and sulphate of potash contains one atom of sulphuric acid; but alumina has three atoms of oxygen; and sulphate of alumina contains three atoms of sulphuric acid combined with one of alumina.

Formerly, chymists supposed that but one substance—oxygen—was capable of acidifying others, and this mistake gave rise to its name, but we now know that hydrogen also, and sulphur, possess this property; hence a distinction is made between oxy-salts, hydro-salts, and sulphur-salts. When the hydracids, or those acidulated with hydrogen, form salts, the hydrogen is merely changed for some other element, and the resulting salt is called a "hydro," or, more strictly, an "haloid"-salt—because sea-salt (Alc , the sea, and $\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\varsigma$, like to) is a type of this class of compounds and the best known among them. Sulphur, like oxygen, may, with one element, constitute the acid, and, with another, the base of a salt: sulpho-carbonic acid, resembling carbonic acid, forms with sulphuret of potassium—which is like potash in its constitution—sulphocarbonate of potash, similar to carbonate of potash. Sulpharsemate of potash resembles arseniate of potash, &c.

Some acids are known only in combination, as salts:—thus, oxalic acid, nitric acid, &c. are found only as oxalate of water, nitrate of water, &c. and, if we separate the water without substituting some other oxide, they are decomposed.

Sometimes the basic water is only partially displaced:—thus, bisulphate of potash is a compound consisting of sulphate of water and sulphate of potash, and such a salt has acid properties, because a part of the acid is still ready to combine with other oxides.

The number of atoms of basic water united with an acid has an important influence over the salts it forms:—thus, monobasic, bibasic, and tribasic phosphates of water unite with different numbers of atoms of oxide of soda, and produce compounds seemingly but not really isomeric, and therefore, very naturally having different properties: bibasic phosphate of soda—the pyrophosphate—has a different crystalline shape from the tribasic, and gives a different precipitate with nitrate of silver.

The haloid salts can have *hydrogen* for one of their constituents, which will then bear the same relation to them as water, its oxyde, does to the oxysalts, constituting in many cases, as it were, their base. Then muriatic or hydrochloric acid would be as truly a salt—the chloride of hydrogen—as any other chloride;—that of calcium for instance.

The difference between the effects produced by chlorine in the free state, and from its combination with hydrogen, are worth notice; in either case it will give rise, with copper for instance, to the production of a salt of copper: the chlorine and copper will form chloride of copper, so also will chloride of hydrogen and copper; but chloride of hydrogen reddens vegetable blues, chlorine destroys them: chlorine merely combines with the metal; chloride of hydrogen acting on a metal liberates hydrogen, while it exchanges that element for the metal. Whether chlorine or chloride of hydrogen act upon vegetable colouring matter, oxygen is disengaged, and the chlorine takes its place; but, in the one case, the oxygen burns the colouring matter, in the other, it combines with the disengaged hydrogen of the hydrochloric acid.

Some chemists assert, and with much probability, that even the substances acidified by oxygen are really hydracids; this theory explains very simply some curious and seemingly inexplicable circumstances connected with oxacids and their salts. We should not conclude that, because chemical substances may happen to be “isomeric,” that is, consist of the same elements in the same proportions, they ought to have likewise the same properties. For the nature of a compound seems to be affected, not more by the elements which constitute it, than by the

mode of their combination. This consideration will prevent isomeric bodies from appearing so anomalous, as at the first examination they might; for, if we find that etherine and olefiant gas consist of the same elements in the same proportions—which would lead us to expect their indication of the same properties—we also find that, during combination, the same amount of their elements is very differently condensed in the formation of these bodies, which should lead us to expect them, on the other hand, materially to differ. Again, isomerism is often admitted where it really does not exist:—thus some, forgetting that water forms a part of the chemical constitution of bodies, suppose that the three phosphoric acids are isomeric; but, looking upon them as phosphates of water, this idea can be no longer allowed: for one of them will then be a phosphate of one atom of water, another a phosphate of two atoms, and the third a phosphate of three—these atoms of water being capable of having their places either wholly, or in part, supplied by atoms of other oxides, each atom of the new oxide displacing an atom of the basic water,—thus, there is a tribasic phosphate of potash, whose constitution is one atom of phosphoric acid, two of potash, and one of water. While another, in which the basic water is quite removed, is one atom of phosphoric acid and three of potash.

Although, generally speaking, a difference of crystalline shape indicates a difference of constituents; this is not always strictly the case:—thus, calcareous spar occurs in rhombohedrons of different kinds, in hexagonal prisms, in six-sided pyramids, and various combinations of them; these, however, may be always reduced to an invariable rhombohedron. On the other hand, different substances are found to have the same crystalline form; such as these are said to be “isomorphous,” their properties are found to be in many respects similar, and they may be substituted for each other in compounds without very material alteration of results.

Analogy sometimes enables us to classify chemical substances, and, to ascertain to a certain extent, their properties and some of their compounds: thus, chlorine, iodine, &c. strongly resemble each other, and evidently belong to the same class of bodies. Hence, because one bleaches, we might expect that another of them should do the same; because one forms an acid with five atoms of oxygen, and a highly explosive combination with nitrogen, so ought, and indeed does, another.

While we can form a chloride or iodide of nitrogen, we may not be acquainted with a bromide of that element; but we should infer that it is possible, though as yet we may not be able to produce such a compound.

The analogies which exist between different substances are sometimes very curious, and lead to unexpected and very interesting results:—thus, we find a striking resemblance between ether and the base of ammonia; they form almost the same series of combinations with the different elements. The salts of water and those of zinc and of copper resemble each other very much. Perhaps, when we remember how true to analogy nature is found to be, we should not go too far in supposing that all the metals are formed of gases; as we have little reason to doubt that one of them—the base of the alkali ammonia—is. Should it be found that the metals are so constituted, which is at least not impossible, the skill of future chemists may establish the fact, not only analytically but even synthetically also; and thus the dreams of the alchemists may be realized, though in a manner they could never have anticipated.

In a word, the great principles of chemistry are extremely beautiful, and not very difficult to be understood or remembered. The science is not indeed yet advanced to such perfection, as that we can dispense with the recollection of *facts*, merely satisfying ourselves with the *laws* to whose knowledge these facts have led, and which, in their turn, may enable us to anticipate the *facts*, which are nothing more after all than their natural consequences, though discovered before them. But the facts we are required to keep in mind are so curious, of such practical utility, and generally so simple, that their own nature encourages us to study them. Besides, the weariness which generally accompanies the consideration of mere facts is greatly alleviated, or altogether removed, by the pleasure and advantage which, at a small expense, we can derive from exemplifying and testing what others have done in these matters. Moreover, the experiments of chemistry are always beautiful, and to the tyro most extraordinary: and from the accurate proportions and the many precautions they require, and the minute quantities upon which it is often necessary to work, they give the young chemist a delicacy of manipulation and an habitual exactness, which other experimental sciences seldom impart, and scarcely ever require. Again, there is something extremely delightful in controlling

the very elements of matter, and exercising a perfect command over them, however minute they may be, or however invisible to any eye except that of chemical science.

The very best consequences must arise from the general study of chemistry; we shall have a host of observers, each turning his attention to some interesting or important enquiry,—particularly if each shall lay it down as a rule, never to be violated, that he will behold nothing of which he does not understand the reason, without endeavouring to discover it;—thus, when a new fact presents itself to any, he shall be ready to remark, and to examine it.

The more we reflect on the subject, the more we shall be convinced that nothing has contributed more to the perfection of the arts, or the improvement of manufactures, than the study of chemistry, which, to a greater or less extent, is connected with all of them:—as to agriculture, which is of such importance to Ireland, we cannot hesitate to believe, that none can cultivate it with even moderate success, who has not to a certain extent a practical acquaintance with chemistry.

If this science be to him whose success in life depends on his industry and ingenuity, the most important of all, it is, fortunately, that which is the most easily acquired, and which depends the least upon other branches of knowledge. Without a mathematical education to an extent not within the reach of every one, a person cannot be skilled in mechanics, &c. but he may be a good chemist who knows little or nothing else than chemistry, for it depends on principles which have not much connection with other branches, and by no means a complicated dependence on each other. We do not, however, mean to insinuate, that the chemist is not greatly benefited by the possession of general knowledge; on the contrary, an ignorance of other subjects will retard, or even prevent that *perfection* even in chemistry, which, though not indispensable to all, must ever be both desirable and useful. For the importance of chemistry to the farmer, we have only to call to mind how satisfactorily it explains the effects of rotation of crops, the good or bad effects of burning or fallowing, the properties of different manures, the treatment which a given soil should receive to prepare it for the growth of particular crops, and a thousand other matters,—to him, and therefore to each of us, indirectly at least, of the deepest importance.

The work before us constitutes the second part of a report on organic chemistry, presented to the B. Association; it was written in German, but the author guarantees the fide-

lity of the translation. It is impossible to peruse it without the deepest interest, the subjects of which it treats are so practical and so important, and the writer brings to their discussion such eminent qualifications:—we shall endeavour to give a brief account of his views.

In the first part, he commences by explaining what is meant by the “vital force;” he draws the distinction between vegetable and animal life; and between the lower and higher functions of the latter;—he very properly remarks that it should not be considered as the province of philosophy to trace the connexion between the soul and animal life—the processes which are independent of the mind should be examined without reference to it.

In the plant there is a tendency from motion to rest; it becomes the same being with the substance which nourishes it; it continues to increase as long as it retains vitality, and never loses what it has once acquired. In the animal body there is a change from rest to motion; the organic substance is continually wasted by a truly chemical action—the union of the carbon and hydrogen of the different parts of the body with the oxygen introduced by the lungs and skin. This carbon and hydrogen must be replaced by the food, and consequently, the oxygen combined must be the measure of the nutriment received. The amount of this oxygen depends on the number of respirations made in a given time, and the quantity taken in during each respiration; and on the temperature and density of the air:—hence, more oxygen is inspired in winter than in summer with the same expenditure of force: and food in less quantity or of less nutritious properties is required in hot than in cold climates. The amount of caloric liberated during the combustion of carbon is a constant quantity, whether the combustion be slow or rapid; and it is the combustion of carbon which gives rise to animal heat, consequently, the more rapid the respiration of an animal the higher its temperature. When the body is surrounded by cold air, it speedily cools, and to supply the heat carried off, the combustion of carbon, and consequent production of animal heat, take place with greater velocity; hence, clothes, by diminishing the demand for heat, render a smaller supply of food necessary:—the naked Samoyedes can eat ten pounds of meat, and perhaps a dozen tallow candles, and drink large quantities of brandy and train oil.

When animals are starved to death, their fat is first oxidized, then the muscular fibres, then the brain, which brings

on delirium and death, after which ensues oxidation of all but the bones. The time required for starvation depends on the amount of fat, exercise, &c., but it is the *respiration* which causes death.

In certain injuries of the nerves, respiration proceeds although animal heat decreases; yet this does not prove that the latter is derived from the nerves; they, indeed, supply the substance required for combustion, and hence, when they are injured, the combustion is necessarily retarded or prevented. The author shows by calculation, that the amount of caloric set free by the oxidation of carbon, is abundantly sufficient to account for the temperature of the animal body, without taking into the calculation what is derived from the oxidation of hydrogen, although when the food—fat for instance—contains much hydrogen, more heat in proportion is evolved.

The blood being the source whence the waste of the organs is to be supplied, an examination of its elements will show what substances ought to be found in food. The food of the carnivora is for the most part identical with their organs; that of the graminivora is rich in three substances of the same composition as animal fibrine and albumen, the chief constituents of the blood. The milk which supports a young animal contains *caseine*, also identical in composition with fibrine and albumen. Certain animals, at all times, and others, when very young, require that a part of their nutriment should consist of substances containing no nitrogen.

In carnivorous animals the venous blood in its passage to the heart goes through the liver, and deposits there a large quantity of carbon in the shape of bile; this bile being again sent through the body, its carbon is available for the purposes of respiration. The arterial blood passes through the kidneys, and deposits the nitrogen, which being no longer necessary is given off with the urine. In the young of the carnivora respiration is more energetic, but the additional carbon required is copiously supplied, not indeed by the waste of the organs, which, on the contrary increase, but by substances rich in carbon contained in the milk, and which in after life are not required. As young carnivorous birds move about but little, they do not need milk, since there is not so great a consumption of carbon in respiration. Graminivorous animals require much more carbon than is afforded by the nitrogenized substances of their food;—this is supplied by its other portions. Savages who live on animal food must be

very limited in number, since they live on azotized substances, which are ultimately derived from vegetables, and which are limited in quantity. The savage, like the hyena, who moves about continually in his cage, is obliged to have recourse to laborious exertions, that he may accelerate the waste, necessary to supply matter for respiration. Animals which perspire eat more than others, because they have to make up by respiration for the heat carried off by perspiration; hence the tiger, for instance, soon ceases to feed; but the cow eats almost continually. When we fatten animals we deprive them of exercise; they then consume more food than is required to supply the waste consequent on respiration;—the nitrogenized portions produce meat, the non-nitrogenized fat. The very *formation* of fat opens a new source of oxygen to the animal body, since it cannot be produced from the nutriment, except by the separation of oxygen, which, uniting with carbon or oxygen gives out heat. Nitrogenized substances which do not exhibit the same composition as the blood, will not support animals; the animal body is formed from blood, but is incapable of producing it, and requires it to be presented as nourishment almost in the very shape in which it afterwards exhibits it.

In the second part the author proceeds to show, from examples derived from substances containing no nitrogen, that bodies apparently very different may consist of the same elements. Chemists have discovered that a compound, to which the name *proteine* has been given, may be obtained from the blood, and its constituents, and from those substances already mentioned to be identical with them; that in fact they are combinations of *proteine* with different portions of inorganic matter; and all nitrogenized organic constituents of the animal body may be conceived as formed from *proteine*, with the addition or subtraction of the elements of water and oxygen, and resolution into two or more compounds. The change of the food in the stomach is a mere chemical effect, independent of vitality and capable of being produced without it. The saliva carries air along with the food into the stomach:—the larger the amount of this air the easier digestion becomes; hence, the longer food is being chewed the more digestible it becomes. The nitrogen of the air left after the oxygen is removed, is given out in a pure state from the lungs and skin;—thus also the gases very often escape with which animals are distended after eating large quantities of fresh juicy vegetables that ferment in the stomach. In

wine countries persons are often asphyxiated by carbonic acid passing from the still fermenting wine in the stomach through the intervening membranes to the lungs. Gelatine, though it may be derived from proteine, does not contain it—hence, when in starvation the muscles are changed back again to blood, to supply carbon for respirations (as noticed page 97) the tendons and membranes remain unaltered until after death; and though gelatine is a highly azotized substance, an animal fed solely upon it will perish from starvation.

The author next proceeds to explain analytically the principal metamorphoses which occur in the animal body:—he confesses that the results have startled himself, and anticipates that they will astonish others. As the organs are formed from the blood, the latter must contain the same amount of carbon and nitrogen as the former, and “if,” says the author “we subtract from the composition of the blood the elements of the urine, then the remainder, deducting the oxygen and water which have been added, must give the composition of the bile. Or if from the elements of the blood we subtract the elements of the bile, the remainder must give the composition of the urate of ammonia, or of urea and carbonic acid.” (p. 132.) This he shows to be the case, by an elaborate examination. The bile of herbivorous animals contains more carbon than corresponds to the quantity of nitrogenized food they consume; hence other substances must contribute to its composition. Compounds of proteine, present in the body, are transformed by oxygen contained in the arterial blood, and combine with starch rendered soluble in the stomach, are thus carried to every part, and form the principal constituents of animal secretions and excretions;—carbonic acid the excretions of the lungs, urea and carbonate of ammonia excreted by the kidneys, and choleic acid secreted by the liver. Soda is necessary to the formation of bile;—when it is absent, fat and urea are produced; hence we cannot fatten an animal when we add to its food an excess of salt, even insufficient to produce a purgative effect. The bile of man, also, seems to a great extent to be derived from the non-azotized food, while a nitrogenized compound, whether derived from the metamorphosed tissues or the food, is at the same time necessary.

The author next considers the effects which medicinal or poisonous matters produce in the processes of secretion and

transformation. These substances he divides into those which combine with the *constituents* of the body, so that the vital force is incapable of effecting decomposition,—thus metallic poisons, &c.; those which impede or retard transformation,—as camphor, antiseptics, &c.; and those which directly effect the changes going on in the animal body, augmenting the energy of one or more organs;—these alter, as it is said, the *quality* of the blood, and their composition is of course unchanged as they pass through the stomach. When nitrogenized substances are introduced into the body, we can conceive them to facilitate the production of bile, and produce the same effects as those belonging to the body itself. The peculiar principles of tea and coffee, now known to be identical, will, with oxygen and the elements of water, yield the nitrogenized principle of bile: this is true of other vegetable substances. The composition of the vegetable alkaloids, the most active class of remedies, are related to the brain and nerves only, of all the constituents of the body; but while they are alkaline, the substance of the brain exhibits acid properties;—they may take a share, though an injurious one, in the formation of the brain. The mischief they produce diminishes with the diminution of their alkaline qualities, that is, in proportion as they differ less from the brain itself;—hence the energy of their action decreases as the amount of their oxygen increases. The principle of tea and coffee may be considered as food for the liver, since they contain the elements which enable that organ to perform its functions;—quinine and the other alkaloids, the food of organs which form nervous substance and brain from the constituents of the blood.

In the third part the author considers the “vital force” which gives rise to the phenomena of *motion*, in consequence of which substances become *assimilated*, and organs *waste*. A repulsion is generated which overcomes chemical attraction, and an attraction is produced by which substances unite themselves to others of the same kind: for this force a certain temperature and a supply of nutrition are required.

He thus examines the points of agreement between the force which gives rise to mechanical effect, and the vital force, and enters into the nature of the latter. The connexion between the production of mechanical effect by the animal body, and a change of its material, is very intimate:—a rapid change of the matter of its organs, by absorption of oxygen, determines a greater amount of mechanical force, and a

greater exertion of mechanical force determines a greater amount of the constituents of the body deprived of vitality;—the principal of vitality which has been expended in producing motion, would have prevented chemical action, or the oxidation of a certain portion of the organs.

Light increases the vital force of plants, its absence prevents their decomposition of carbonic acid;—abstraction of heat produces an analogous effect in the animal body. Animal heat and chemical action are, as we have seen, intimately connected; anything which prevents the latter, diminishes the production of the former, and *vice versa*. Alcohol, from its volatility, and property of permeating animal membranes and tissues, spreads rapidly through the body, takes up the oxygen found in the blood,—and which ought to have combined with these tissues, or the products of their metamorphoses,—and renders the arterial blood venous without the intervention of the muscles:—the animal heat is increased, but without a corresponding mechanical force being displayed; on the contrary, the capability for exertion is often diminished.

The author deduces certain rules from the connexion between “waste” animal heat and mechanical power; he compares the accumulation of power obtained by the animal body during sleep, to that obtained from steam by means of a fly wheel, without which the moving force would often be insufficient to the production of the intended effect. The old man sleeps very little; an infant a great deal:—force in the one is consumed very largely in the formation of new parts, and but little in the other. If a young person be worked hard, the supply may only equal the demand, and growth will be prevented.

The theory of disease is next treated. Anything which disturbs the equilibrium between the waste and supply causes disease; what will affect one person, or one period of life, very seriously, may be without effect in another. If more force is generated by oxidation than is required for normal motions, the temperature is raised, and the involuntary muscles are accelerated—this is *fever*: the injurious effect may be confined to one organ. If superfluous substances cannot be carried away, a species of fermentation ensues; the resistance to chemical change in the diseased part may be rendered harmless, by exciting as it were disease in some other part, from diminished resistance to change—produced by blisters, &c.

Bleeding diminishes the number of the globules of the blood, that carry the oxygen which produces chemical action; whatever is calculated to produce blood is to be excluded from the food. *Sympathy* arises from diminished resistance to oxidation in an organ necessary to the one affected by it. *Electricity* appears to be a cause *superadded* to that arising from vital force.

Theory of respiration.—The globules of venous blood change their colour in the lungs; oxygen is absorbed and an equal volume of carbonic acid is given out. The red globules of the blood are the only portion of the body which contains iron—the latter has the property, as protoxide, of absorbing oxygen easily, and giving it out with facility: when the oxide loses oxygen in its passage through the body, it takes up carbonic acid: this is given out in the lungs. Sulphuretted hydrogen and prussic acid, free alkalies, being present, as they always are in the lungs, render the iron incapable of absorbing oxygen.

A copious appendix containing analytical evidence of the truth of principles advanced with reference to respiration, &c. is added.

On the whole, while we cannot say that we fully agree with every thing the work contains, we are generally pleased with the novel point of view in which it places some facts already known, and with the interesting conclusions drawn from them; much new matter is brought forward, and explanations are given, which are highly interesting and instructive. Perhaps, as in the former part of his report, the author attempts to reason, and to theorize from facts and principles, hardly as yet sufficiently understood. The attempt to reduce the laws which govern vitality and chemical attraction to those which regulate mechanical forces, is not perhaps altogether successful; but the work is such as every one interested in the most important and delightful of all enquiries must read; such as none can peruse without pleasure; nor any without reaping advantage.

ART. IV.—*Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and among Foreign Peoples.* By Frederick William Faber, M.A. Fellow of University College, Oxford. London: 1842.

WE have already alluded to Mr. Faber's work in terms which sufficiently convey our sense of its interest and importance.* If the reader should chance to recollect a very striking passage which we cited from it upon that occasion, we are sure he will gladly accompany us in the more detailed examination which we contemplate in the present paper.

The *Sights and Thoughts* cannot, in the ordinary sense of the terms, be called a book of travels; and perhaps it would be difficult to convey a better idea of its general character, than that suggested by the somewhat peculiar title selected by the author. It contains but little of description, of mere sight-seeing none at all; it "meddles not with dates, or distances, or guide-book details;" being little more than a register (occasionally sufficiently discursive) of the impressions created by the scenes or objects which come under the writer's notice; and although colder spirits may detect some things which to them will savour of enthusiasm, yet there is none who must not feel that it is the enthusiasm of a cultivated and naturally religious mind.

It is right, at the same time, to observe, that the interest of Mr. Faber's work is not, as the title might seem to indicate, exclusively religious. It were hardly possible, indeed, for any one, even possessing far less claims to scholarship than Mr. F., to traverse so much classic ground as came within the limits of his tour, without frequent allusions to the classic recollections with which each scene is associated. However, we must content ourselves with a general reference to this portion of his pages as replete with eloquence and erudition, and though sometimes over-wrought and declamatory, yet always in good taste. Our concern is with that part of the work which appears to be described in the first member of its title—" *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches*"—in which the scholar is merged in the churchman, and classic history, if regarded at all, is seen only in its relation to the struggles and triumph of religion. In addition to the interest which it possesses as embodying the private opinions of the author, it

* See vol. xii. p. 554.

is almost professedly the representative of the doctrines and views of the new school of divinity to which he belongs.*

There will, at least, be a novelty in the impressions of such a traveller. Up to the present time, the British tourist was eminently unqualified to enter into or understand the religious circumstances of the Catholic countries which he visited. Trained up from infancy to regard the simplest act of our external worship as unmeaning, if not idolatrous; to look upon our ceremonies as idle pomp, and our liturgy as senseless mummery, he entered a church with no higher view than that of gratifying curiosity, if he did not carry with him a positive predisposition to ridicule and despise. Every thing was misconceived, and, of course, misrepresented. The spirit was utterly unknown, and, as a necessary consequence, the form lost all its significance. How could a mind formed in the Calvinistic school make allowance for the enthusiastic, and to him extravagant, piety of the worshippers at the *Quarantore*, or the procession of the Blessed Sacrament? What had a Puritan imagination in common with the poor penitent in the Friday procession of the cross, or the stations of the *Addolorata*? What impression would the unmortified Protestant receive from the motley, and not unfrequently repulsive, groups of religious—the Franciscans, and Capuchins, and Camaldolese, or the *Sacconi* of the several confraternities—who crossed him at every turn in the streets, and perhaps obstructed his view of some function in St. Peter's. For him, all had but one single name—superstition. He knew not their meaning. They were to him as if “speaking unto the air.” And thus, even with that more liberal-minded class, who were indisposed to offend, the very utmost we could expect was a kind of compassionating toleration. They could have no sympathy with what they did not understand; and if a few sentences of barren praise accorded; if the “effect” of the scene, the “impressiveness” of the service, the picturesqueness of the dresses, were spoken of in a tone of artistic commendation, we were fain to accept with gratitude the crumbs of half-patronizing, half-pitying criticism, thus carelessly flung to us, and be thankful even for the

* For the same reason we shall not advert to the political views and reflections with which the work is occasionally interspersed, especially on the political condition of Italy. That Mr. Faber has completely mistaken the diplomatic relations of the Holy See with Russia, it can now be scarcely necessary to observe. There are some observations which, we doubt not, he would have withdrawn, had he seen, before going to press, the *Allocution* of July 22, 1842.

uninquiring indifference to which alone we were indebted for the boon. With a tourist of the new Anglican school, the case is different. For him, much of this prejudice has ceased. To him a usage is not *bad*, simply because it is *Catholic*. The time is past "*when it was considered an argument against opinions, otherwise probable, that they were held by all other parts of Catholic Christendom.*"* The reverence for ancient Catholic forms is no longer proscribed; and the admission of the Real Presence, of the lawfulness of sacred images, of, at least, a modified invocation of saints, of the utility of monastic orders, and the advantage of public associations of piety, has established between the new school and the Catholic nations of the continent, a certain community of feeling which never before existed, and which must give a colour to the impressions produced by the religious intercourse between them.

Of this, Mr. Faber's work, although far from being quite free from the old spirit, will be found to furnish many gratifying examples. Indeed, if his views be different from those of most former travellers, the feelings with which he enters upon his tour are professedly the very opposite of what modern tourists ordinarily entertain. He set out in the spirit, and, as far as his imagination could realize it, the feelings of a traveller of the Middle Ages; though he could not suppress the sad consciousness, how far, amid the comforts of modern civilization, we have lost sight of the spiritual advantages which a traveller of the olden time would have enjoyed; "solid advantages, which a Churchman now-a-days may be permitted to regret, and for which he would be willing to forfeit no inconsiderable portion of our modern facilities." (p. 2.) He feels a host of little wants, "utterly unsatisfied for modern wanderers amid the jealous and disjointed Churches". He misses the thousand little blessings unprized, perhaps, by the worldly mind, but precious in the eye of faith and of religion,—the friendly shelter which was sure to await the traveller under every religious roof,—the morning benison which accompanied his departing steps,—the freedom of intercourse with the pious and the learned,—above all, the sense of unity and fraternal communion,—the consciousness that, though parted from family and friends, he had still a home in the bosom of the common Mother,—that, though separated from converse with the jarring tongues around him, there was still

* *British Critic*, for July, 1842, p. 105.

a language which he shared whithersoever he might go—the common voice of that common parent, soliciting in the same language for all the varied families of her children. He is sensible of these and a hundred other “little needs, interesting the affections, and laying hold of the imagination, which, of old, were satisfied to the full to those who travelled in Christendom when at unity with itself.” Well, indeed, may he look upon the disuse of the universal language of Europe, the Latin of the Middle Ages, “as an image of the present broken and disordered state of Christendom!” What well-regulated mind will not share his pious envy of those happy times, when, whatever their other deficiencies, the sojourner would always say with Sir Francis Palgrave’s traveller, “However uncouth may be the speech of the races among which the pilgrim sojourns, however diversified may be the customs of the regions which he visits, let him enter the portal of the Church, or hear, as I do now, the voice of the minister of the Gospel, and he is present with his own, though alps and oceans may sever them asunder. There is one spot where the pilgrim may always find his home. We are all one people when we come before the altar of the Lord.”

Such is the spirit in which the *Sights and Thoughts* are written, and the author solicits a similar condition of mind in his reader. A few years back it would have been difficult to anticipate the publication of such a volume; even in a Catholic tourist, the idea would have required no ordinary hardihood; and perhaps it would not be easy to find a less equivocal evidence of the complete revolution of opinion which has taken place, than the phenomenon of an Anglican clergyman, a refined and accomplished scholar, assuming, with affectionate reverence, the character of a pilgrim of the once deemed “dark” ages, and journeying forth in this spirit and temper, through the kingdoms of modern Europe;—“where modern wants have clouded the bright past,” sorrowfully comparing what is now with his recollection of what has passed away; and “thinking such thoughts as he thought, where places remain unaltered!”

Interesting, however, as must be the reflections of a cultivated mind, thoroughly imbued with such a spirit, this assumption of an imaginary character is, of course, exposed to very great error and misconception. Even in a matter of mere scholarship (witness the Abbé Barthelemy’s *Anachar-*

* Palgrave’s Merchant and Friar, p. 138.

sis), it is extremely difficult to sustain. How much more where the topic is one which enters into all our thoughts and gives a colour to all our impressions; and where, above all others, prejudice insensibly interweaves itself even with our most ordinary views. We are unconsciously led to judge by our own impressions the opinions of the imaginary character which we have assumed; and thus to view everything through the medium of our prejudices, even while we imagine that we have altogether discarded them. Mr. Faber, though fully aware of this danger, has not himself entirely escaped it. He freely admits the existence of strong national and religious prepossessions, and acknowledges the fatal extent to which they warp the judgment of an English traveller in Catholic countries. He, himself, though he has discarded many of the vulgar prejudices, still retains some which are peculiar to his own school, and which to us are made more painfully prominent by the very liberality that distinguishes his other views. However, even here there is much to suggest a hope that these obnoxious views are far from being strong or decided. It is impossible not to be struck by a certain vagueness which pervades many of the opinions, and which seem to betray a mind, if not in a state of transition, certainly far from a state of rest. There is occasionally a great deal of hesitation, and stopping short, and modifying—a perpetual feeling the way—looking in advance, as if to guard against the consequence of a principle—which forces, at least upon our mind, the impression that the writer's views are not yet finally settled; that he does not yet fully understand the consequences of his own principles, and is content to say by insinuation more than he openly expresses, or, perhaps, is yet fully prepared to avow even to his own mind.

There is another peculiarity in Mr. Faber's plan. With the view, we presume, of relieving his pages from the dullness of theological disquisition, he has introduced an imaginary companion, whom he calls "a Man of the Middle Ages," and whom he occasionally employs in dialogue, sometimes to develop, by discussion or commentary, the views which he himself propounds; sometimes as if for the purpose of bringing out opinions bolder than he would venture to express in his own person. There is, however, the same vague and indistinct character about this mysterious personage; and he, too, has a knack of saying things by halves, and leaving much to be understood. His age, name, character, are all left unexplained, except in so far as they can be gathered from the following description.

"He was not an old man,—scarcely above fifty. He had a small head, and his forehead was low, but full of singular and strongly-marked prominences. His hair, which grew only on his temples and behind his head, was of raven black, mingled with gray. His eyes were generally half closed, as if the heavy eyelids sunk unconsciously over them when he was in contemplation. When open, they were keen and piercing, though there was sometimes a look of mildness or sorrow in them, but it was unfrequent. They were of that description of eyes whose colour it is scarcely possible to distinguish from the light which is continually playing about them. His nose was aquiline. He had scarcely any upper lip, and his mouth was particularly striking. In general, the lips were unclosed, so that you might discern the white line of the teeth through them; and for the most part there was a smile of kindness and benevolence about his mouth, but it did not appear to be natural; it was rather sustained by a self-collected restraint of other feelings within; for he had a very guarded manner, as if he were on the watch against some natural temper, or characteristic current of feeling which he disliked, and thought it his duty to suppress. I often observed afterwards, that when he was in a reverie, his lips gradually came together, were more and more compressed, till at last the pressure was so violent, as to force the colour from them; and at such times there was a look about him as if he could be capable of great cruelties. He was dark, yet pale, except that, in the centre of his cheek, there was a small circle of very florid hue, such as is sometimes seen in healthy old age: this became of an ashy paleness whenever he was excited.

"He never said any thing which could lead to a detection of his country, or exact age, yet the general character of his face was Tuscan: he looked like a Florentine. And I observed, that when I spoke of men and things belonging to the eleventh century, he was uneasy, and shrunk from saying much, as if he was afraid of making some betrayal. I once observed an unusual glow come into his eyes, followed by a single tear, when I spoke of Lanfranc. He did not seem partial to the memory of Gregory VII, and often spoke disparagingly of him; though it was rather his personal character than his line of policy, that called out his cynical remarks. These were all the grounds I could ever collect for fixing the century in which he lived. They were not enough to create conviction, but sufficiently strong to excite my suspicions, even of the name of the mysterious attendant." pp. 200-2.

We were at first inclined, from the hints here given, as well as from the warm interest which he always expresses in the religious destinies of England, to believe that the stranger was none else than the illustrious primate himself. But

then Lanfranc was a Lombard, not a Tuscan; and in one of his letters (59th) he strongly condemns in his correspondent the disparaging language regarding Gregory VII which is here attributed to the Stranger.* However, leaving each one to exercise his ingenuity upon the tokens given above, we shall merely observe that, even taking the expression "Middle Ages" in its loosest sense, Mr. Faber has permitted his prejudices to betray him into a palpable error of date. He is at liberty, of course, to theorize in his own person as he will: but, for the opinions ascribed to a particular period he is historically accountable. Doctrines of the Middle Age are to be judged, not by our own notions of what men thought and felt during that period, but by the writings which have been preserved. We challenge Mr. Faber to produce within the centuries which he designates by the words "Middle Ages," in fact, at any period anterior to Protestantism, the slightest shadow of colour in the writings of the time for the opinions regarding the papacy, communion with Rome, and unity of doctrine, which he puts into the mouth of his imaginary man of the Middle Ages. The true sentiments of those times can only be judged from the works of those who, like St. Bernard, or St. Anselm, or Lanfranc himself, were regarded by their contemporaries as preeminently the lights of the age; and it will only be necessary to place a homily or a letter of St. Bernard beside the vague and fanciful theories of Mr. Faber's stranger, in order to detect an anachronism of centuries in the age assigned to him.

But it is time to give some account of the work. It is divided into three books,—“Paris and Avignon,” “Cisalpine Gaul,” “The Adriatic and Ægean;” and a brief note appended to the index announces that the author has collected materials, and may perhaps be induced to publish three further books,—“The Desecrated City, Constantinople,” “The Kaiser's Lands,” and “Protestant Germany.” His route as far as Genoa, for the most part, was the beaten track, now familiar to almost every visitor of Italy. From Boulogne he went by Amiens (remaining, of course, to visit the cathedral) to Paris. Like most visitors, who see this city but in passing, he was painfully struck by the character of impiety which many of its usages, and especially the desecration of the Sunday, exhibit, and his stay was too brief to enable him to study the more pleasing features of the strong

* “Non probo quod Papam Gregorium vituperas, quod Hildebrandum eum vocas.”—*Opera Lanfranci* (in the “*Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*,” tom. xviii.) p. 827.

religious movement which is now taking place, "especially, and in a more hopeful way, among the Roman Catholics." (p. 23.) The Pantheon was to him especially revolting; even Père la Chaise was an unpleasing spot; and he preferred to take refuge in the Paris of the past,—confessing, as he found himself within the shrine of St. Gèneviève in the venerable old Church of St. Etienne du Mont, that "the memory of the pious dark ages was very soothing, after the glare of enlightened sin which hangs around the capitals of the Pantheon." With such sentiments, we cannot but regret that he has given us so little of his own reflections upon Paris; for which we would willingly exchange the description of the ancient topography of the city, charming as it is, which is transcribed from Victor Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame*.

After a hurried view of the cathedral of Chartres and a moonlight visit to that of Orleans, the author proceeded by Nevers, Moulins, and Roanne, to Lyons, in which "he was bitterly disappointed;"—a feeling, we must add, which we, too, partook, when we found the subject dismissed without a single allusion to the historical recollections of the Church of Irenæus, or to the venerable old shrine of *Notre Dame des Fourvières*. From Lyons he sailed down the Rhone to Avignon, stopping by the way to visit the ancient city of Vienne, every spot of which Eusebius has made sacred in his history. The pages devoted to the ancient papal capital are themselves extremely interesting: but it is only one who has seen it in its present miserably fallen estate, that can fully enter into the eloquent contrast of its deserted streets and its faded and time-worn palaces, with the gaiety and splendour of the scene which they daily witnessed in the days of papal grandeur. He gives a brief review of the causes which led to the transfer of the papal see to Avignon, and of the residence of the popes therein, too meagre, however, to be of much value: but we cannot sufficiently praise the courage and candour with which he vindicates the character of the calumniated pontiff, Boniface VIII. He indignantly repels Sismondi's "scandalous lie" regarding the manner of his death, which has been refuted in a former number of this journal.

"When Boniface had been dead a century," writes he, "it was necessary to take down his chapel in the Vatican and remove his body. According to the *procès verbal*, the body was found undecayed, all the veins traceable, the expression placid, the skin upon his head unwounded and entire, the hands, which he was represented to have gnawed, were also so perfect and beautiful, as to

'fill with admiration all who saw them.' How wonderful are God's ways ! For a century of obloquy, the very dead body of His servant is kept incorrupt, to testify against Satan's wiles, by a most unforeseen discovery."—p. 69.

From Avignon he proceeded to Marseilles, whence after a detour to the ancient cities of Nismes and Arles, he took ship for Geneva ; and for some unexplained reason, turning his back upon Rome, he passed on through Pavia, with all the devotion of a Catholic pilgrim, to Milan, "the city of St. Ambrose and St. Charles." What an indication of the change in the temper of modern Anglican theology, that, from among the historical recollections of Milan, an English clergyman should select, as "possessing a strong claim upon our attention," *the legend of SS. Gervase and Protase, and Paulinus' miraculous Narrative of the death of St. Ambrose.* Willingly would we make room for the interesting pages in which they are told ; but we could not bear to separate them from the noble character of the modern St. Charles, and his holy cousin Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, and must therefore be content to refer for both to the volume itself.

Except some reflections on the character of Arnold of Brescia, with whom Mr. Faber has but little sympathy, there is nothing to arrest us in his route by Brescia, along the Lago di Garda, and through Vicenza and Padua, to Venice, where he spent the Holy Week, and was much edified and delighted with the services.

"On Maundy Thursday we went to St. Mark's, and remained there the whole of the service, which lasted above three hours. This Thursday seems to be here, as it should be, a sort of Lenten holiday,—a light shining even in the darkness of Passion week. Flags were flying in all the ships before the quay, as well as in the square before St. Mark's. The archbishop was in the cathedral. He and his clergy were magnificently habited in vestments of what appeared to be cloth of gold, and he had a gilded mitre on his head. There was music, but not much. All the clergy, the Austrian archduke, who is viceroy of Milan, and thirteen old paupers, received the Holy Communion, the choir chaunting, in a low voice, the whole time. After the communion, the archbishop came into the nave, accompanied by his priests and deacons, in less magnificent attire. They took off his outer robes, and girded him with a towel. He then knelt down, and washed and kissed the feet of the thirteen old paupers who had communicated. I rather expected this ceremony would have been a little undignified, and waited for it somewhat uneasily, considering I was in church, and the Eucharistic sacrifice but just over. However, it was not so in the least. *It was very affecting, and quite real ;* and the people seemed to think that it

meant something real ; and, to all appearance, *were edified by it, as I was myself*. After it was over, the patriarch, standing, and leaning on his crosier, made a short address to the people, explaining the symbolical character of our Lord's act, and dwelling particularly on St. Peter's wish, that not his feet only should be washed, but his hands and his head."—pp. 301-2.

Among the historical recollections of the city, is introduced an imaginary conversation between the members of that illustrious party of friends, whose learning shed lustre upon Venice about the commencement of the Reformation, and who were wont to meet in Venice to confer upon the troubled state of the Church. The speakers are the newly created cardinals, Gaspar Contarini, and our countryman Pole, "whom none can know without loving," the celebrated Venetian noble Luigi Priuli, the Benedictine, Marco of Padua, and Gregorio Cortese, the abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore. The scene is the garden of this convent ; the time November 1535, a year after the accession of Paul III, when Contarini and Pole, who had been named members of the sacred college, are on their way to the consistory ; and the subject is the state of the Church, and the line of policy which it shall be their duty to pursue in the deliberations to which they have been summoned. The idea is a bold one ; but, considered historically, it is completely overdrawn in the execution. Mr. Faber takes as his basis (even though he admits its injustice as regards Contarini (p. 308), the garbled and exaggerated view of the opinions entertained by these celebrated men, given by Ranke in the opening sections of his second book ; and he has himself added to the misconception, by *introducing into one single conversation* scraps of their opinions gathered by Ranke *from the most scattered sources*—from isolated passages of their writings,* from letters of distant dates, and even from hearsay representations of their sentiments.† The characters, however, are very beautifully drawn, particularly that of Pole "one of the gentlest, holiest, and most susceptible of men," of whom we are told that he "died, as if by a mysterious instinct, in the very last night whose moon shone upon the rich tillage lands and dusky woodland chases of Catholic England, still, for that one night

* As that attributed to Contarini, in page 316. Let it be read in connexion with his treatise "De Potestate Pontificis, quod divinitus sit tradita," which immediately follows it in Roccaberti's "Biblioth. Maxima Pontificia," tom. xiii. pp. 184-7, from which work Ranke cites the passage in question.

† See page 40 of Kelly's Translation of Ranke. The unworthy sentiment put into Pole's mouth by Mr. Faber, in page 322, was given, even by Ranke, but as a "saying attributed to him."

still, a portion of the Roman obedience." (p. 326.) There is great justice too, in the contrast of Contarini and Paolo Sarpi.

"From this it would follow, and did actually follow, that the spirit of complacent indifference in Paolo Sarpi was stirred up to a vehement and bitter hatred of *authority*, as interfering with and controlling his literary eclecticism ; and with a system not afraid, as an authoritative system never is, of its conclusions, witnessing against a temper of mind so unhappy, and so little penetrated with true religious feeling. It is said of him, that the most determined and irreconcilable hatred towards the secular influence of the papacy was probably the only passion he ever cherished, and that it was whetted by the refusal of a bishopric, attended by some mortifying circumstances. Thus, what had been belief,—pious, energetic, pure, obedient, quick-spirited, and hopeful,—in Contarini, became literary opinion,—cold, lifeless, unpractical, unreal, scholastic, disobedient,—in Sarpi. It exemplifies the natural degeneracy of unauthoritative schools within a Church."—pp. 329-30.

From Venice, the tour assumes a more classical character. Taking shipping for Trieste, the author sailed down the Adriatic, touching only at Ancona; the scenery of the islands, Corfu, Paxos, Santa Maura, and Ithaca, is described with all the fervour of one to whom they are truly classic grounds, and every cape and bay in the entire voyage round the Morea, till "they saw the pale-green Salamis, and dropped anchor in the Piræus," contributes its share of classic recollections. After a hurried view of Athens, he made a circuit of Marathon, Thebes, Parnassus, Corinth, Mycenæ, and returned to complete the survey. The second visit was more minute, and supplies several interesting descriptions; but the remainder of the voyage through the islands of the *Ægean*, seen but from the deck of the steamer in passing, is necessarily meagre and imperfect. A few days at Syra, another halt at Smyrna, a passing view of Mitylene, Tenedos, and the Troad, and a delightful sail up the Hellespont, complete this portion of the tour, which breaks off abruptly before Constantinople, as they "looked through the darkness with eager hope and a disturbed impatience, to see the first sunbeam strike the highest crescent upon St. Sophia's."

Having now relieved ourselves by an analysis of the general plan of the volume, we shall be more at liberty with regard to its details; and, as our business is more with the author's views than with the scenes which occasion them, we shall no longer confine ourselves to the order of his travel, but select at pleasure the most characteristic passages. We may add,

too, that the work is one which we feel but little disposition to criticise in a controversial temper. Though there are many of its views from which of course we feel bound to differ, many assertions which in themselves would challenge a warm, not to say indignant denial, yet the kindly and subdued tone in which many other angry topics are discussed, has gone far to disarm this feeling, and to remind us of the motto which is selected for the title page, "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works; exhorting one another: and so much the more as you see the day approaching." (Heb. x. 24-5.)

And first let us hear Mr. Faber speak his feelings towards Rome in general. The following is written regarding the Maundy Thursday service in St. Mark's at Venice.

"This was the first great church ceremony we had seen since we came abroad; and I looked in vain for the "mummery," disgusting repetition, childish arrangements, and so forth, which one reads of in modern travellers; who, for the most part, know nothing of the Roman service-books, and consequently understand nothing of what is before them. *A heathen might say just the same, as the Puritans did say, of us, if they entered one of our cathedrals and saw us sit for the Epistle, and stand for the Gospel, turn to the east for the creed, bow at our Lord's name, recite the Litany at a faldstool, between the porch and the altar, make crosses on babies' foreheads, lay hands on small squares of bread; or, if they saw men in strange black dresses with huge white sleeves, walking up and down the aisles of a country church, touching the heads of boys and girls, or wetting the head and hands of our kings and queens with oil, or consecrating buildings and yards.* There may, of course, be very sad mummery in Roman services, as there is very sad irreverence oftentimes in English services; such, for instance, as dressing up the altar in white cloths, with the plate upon it as if for the holy communion, when it is not meant that there should be one, which is sometimes done in cathedrals, when the clergy themselves are in sufficient number, and strangers who have wished to stay have been told it will be very inconvenient if they so do. It may be hoped there are few Roman churches in which such theatrical mummery as that is practised. However, whatever the amount of Romish mummery, the gross ignorance of ecclesiastical matters exhibited by many modern travellers who have spoken the most confidently about it, may make us suspect their competency to be judges on the matter. When we see that precisely the same common-place and offensive epithets *might be applied with equal justice to us, by one who was a stranger or an enemy to our services*; and, whatever changes the people may wish for, the English ritual, characterized by a simplicity of which Christendom, for many a century, has not seen the like, will hardly be charged with mummery.

All ritual acts must, from the nature of the case, be symbolical, being either a reverential imitation of sacred rites, or the sublime inventions of antiquity, whereby the presence of God and His holy angels is recognized and preached to the people; or fit and beautiful means for affecting the imagination of the worshipper, and giving intensity to his devotion. All service, not excepting the simple and strict imitation of our Blessed Lord's action, at the institution of the most solemn rite in the world, must be dumb-show to a looker-on who knows nothing of what it sets forth and symbolizes; and this dumb-show, such looker on, if he were pert and self-sufficient, would call mummary. The existence of Romish mummary is, or is not, a fact; and must, of course, so be dealt with; and its extent also is, or is not, ascertainable as a fact. But the improbability of its being nearly as extensive as modern travellers represent it, is so monstrous, considering that the Romanists are Christians, and Christians, too, at worship, that the vague epithets and round sentences, and the received Puritan vocabulary of persons ignorant of Breviaries and Missals, cannot be taken as evidence. Indeed, in these days, we may justifiably require beforehand, that a traveller shall know so much of what external religion is, and what are its uses, that he can comprehend and subscribe to the simple philosophy comprised in Wordsworth's definition of it—

'Sacred religion! Mother of form and fear,
Dread arbitress of mutable respect!'"—pp. 302-4.

There is much sound sense as well as good feeling and justice in this passage, which goes to the very root of the prejudices almost universally entertained; and it is only an illustration of an old but true adage, to find the author betrayed, even in this very volume, into a forgetfulness of these most just and charitable principles. For surely he must have forgotten to apply them to himself; to consider that "all service must be dumb-show to a looker-on, who knows nothing of what it sets forth and symbolizes;" to reflect "what a heathen might say, and what the Puritans *did* say, of the service of his own Cathedral:" when he ventured to pronounce that our worship of the Mother of God, "must surely be called adoration." (151.) An act or an expression may *appear*, and perhaps to one unacquainted with its nature would appear, to imply adoration, without *really* being such; and it is only from the intention of the worshipper expressed or implied that its true character can be gathered. Is it just, therefore, not to say charitable, to judge our worship exclusively by the external act or word, which might perhaps bear an objectionable construction, forgetting or disregarding the thousand protests by which this construction is indignantly

disclaimed? To bring the case home. At Genoa, the Annunciation of our Lady was celebrated with the utmost devotion. Every street "was filled with heaps of flowers, wherewith to honour the images and altars of the Blessed Virgin." Mr. Faber was himself "quite possessed with the Sunday feeling of the day, and not to be utterly without sympathy with the Genoese around him, decorated his room with a bunch of crimson tulips, apparently the favourite flower, that he might not be without somewhat to remind him of her

"Who so above
All others shone,
The mother of
The Blessed One."—p. 146.

Now we should be very sorry to say that by this simple act he meant anything like adoration, or even that he intended to identify himself with the crowd of worshippers around. But what would a stranger say—what would one of his Puritan countrymen say—if he saw even this harmless compliance? Would he not, in all likelihood, at once regard it as a participation in the idolatrous (for such he would deem it), honour, which was paid by all around. Now if this judgment were, as in Mr. Faber's case it certainly would be, unjust and uncharitable, to what is this attributable but to the intention with which the act was performed, and by which he claims that it should be judged? With what justice, then, can he refuse to hear us, when we protest that our intention (which alone could constitute an act of adoration), not only is not adoration, but expressly excludes it as impious and abominable; and that, no matter what a stranger who knows us not may imagine, we reject the idea with more horror than the most puritanical of our opponents?*

But whatever may be said of his own views, the injustice is still more palpable when put into the mouth of the "Man of the Middle Ages" (p. 275), who is made to condemn the addresses to the Blessed Virgin inserted in the Roman Breviary. We need but apply the simple test already suggested:—would St.

* We have been much pleased with the tone of some observations upon this subject in the current number of the "British Critic." (pp. 410-11.) The writer admits that against all the prepossessions which a stranger may conceive against our system, "they have to balance in the opposite scale the fact, that others of no less religious attainments, no less capacious minds, and no less intimate acquaintance with the early Church, have come to a very different conclusion; and these persons, who, being *within*, were a good deal more likely to view it in its true practical colouring and proportion, than they *who are external to it*."—See also, pp. 355-7, and 403-4. The whole articles II. and III. will well repay perusal.

Bernard have subscribed this condemnation? It is hardly necessary to reply. What address in the Breviary half so strong as his declaration, that "to her it hath been granted, that through her we receive whatsoever we have"?* or still more, his assurance (blasphemous, unless understood as *we* understand all such expressions whenever they are employed), that "if there be in us anything of hope, anything of grace, anything of salvation, we should know that it redoundeth from her who ascendeth overflowing with delights"?†

It is but justice, however, to add that the "Stranger" professes a reverence for the Blessed Virgin, "which he doubts not Mr. Faber would consider exaggerated;" and that, though he declares the present Roman system not to have been the system of his day, he asserts, notwithstanding, that it is "a most beautiful and a highly spiritual one; and that the world has hardly ever seen a system so wonderfully adapted, and so eminently successful, as a training for great Saints." (p. 295.) How this character can be reconciled with its teaching in any way the adoration of the Blessed Virgin, we profess our utter inability to divine.

There is a good deal of apparent inconsistency in Mr. Faber's views regarding the national Church. On the one hand, there is a humiliation and self-subduedness about the tone in which he speaks of her actual condition, very different from the arrogant and contemptuous ground assumed by many of the members of his school. He admits fully, with Mr. Ward, the ungraciousness of constantly "throwing stones at their neighbours, as if they considered their own Church purer;"‡ and confesses that there is "the beam to be pulled out of their own eye, before they venture on the mote in their neighbour's." (p. 598.) There is everywhere traceable a sad consciousness of the numberless wants and failures of the system of the English Church (though not sufficient to make it a duty to leave her), an acknowledgment of the miserable bondage in which she is detained, a constant sighing after the unity and peace which it has been her destiny or her punishment to forfeit. "She is not a fasting Church; yet every other Church in the world has been so from the earliest time. Her clergy, as a body, do not own their apostolical lineage as essential to the construction of a Church, and the adminis-

* St. Bernardi Opera, tom. i. p. 764. (Bened. edit.)

† Ibid. p. 1014. See the whole sermon on the Sunday within the octave of the Assumption, i. p. 1006, also on the Nativity, p. 1012.

‡ "A few more words in support of No. 90," by the Rev. W. G. Ward, p. 79.

tration of the sacraments. *She cannot excommunicate, and shrinks, very uncharitably, from anathematizing heresy.* Her people do not believe that infants are actually regenerated by baptism. The commemorations of the departed are disused, and that too *since* the Reformation. She does not elect her own bishops. Her clergy venture upon the liberty of marriage, without respecting the example of all the other western Churches. The glory of the sacrifice of the altar is clouded in her,—which must lead, in the end, to a clouding of the sacrifice of the cross. They do not honour tradition,—which must, in the end, lead to a dishonouring of Scripture.” (p. 363.) These are grievous impeachments, especially in a Church which claims authority over the consciences of its members. It is not easy to reconcile the existence of this authority, or the obligation of submitting to its guidance, with the inability to excommunicate heresy, and guard the purity of Catholic truth; and it is difficult to form a high estimate of the spiritual character of a Church in which the glory of the sacrifice of the altar is clouded, and that of the sacrifice of the cross is in danger.

But on the other hand, he requires the true churchman to close his eyes to all these defects. Not all this, nor a thousand times more, is to shake his allegiance! “Let your regrets be ever so vehement,” says the Stranger, “your disapproval ever so strong, men’s calumny and persecution ever so hard to bear, your own doubts ever so harassing, foreign claims ever so unanswerable,—so long as there remains in your mind a conviction that it is *probable*, or *possible*, for your Church to be really a true branch of the Church universal, I am unable to see what can warrant you in leaving it.” (p. 619.) Is it possible that this is meant in sober earnest? that men’s faith and salvation are thus to be dependent upon a *probable*, and even a barely *possible* contingency? that the existence of such a *possibility* in favour of the Church in which they happen to find themselves providentially placed, is to prevail against their own regrets, however vehement,—their doubts, however harassing,—nay, against all foreign claims, *however unanswerable*? Surely it is not using too strong language to call this, if so it be meant, a caricature of Church authority, and a mockery of ecclesiastical obedience.

But notwithstanding this extravagant theory of duty to his own Church, Mr. Faber is not forward in condemning ours. Bating one or two harsh judgments which he pronounces, he is no friend of that “arrogant claim to exclusive purity,”

which the writers of the *British Critic* frankly repudiate.* There is much of hope mingled with the melancholy which fills our mind as we transcribe the following:—

“The morning mass at the tomb of St. Charles Borromeo was just finishing, when we descended into the subterranean chapel at the entrance of the choir. We did not much regard the splendour of the tomb, for our eyes were riveted on the coffin, which stood above the altar, and contained the mortal remains of that holy saint and faithful shepherd. The longer we remained in the cathedral, the more its glory and magnificence, and coloured gloom, took possession of our spirits. It is an oppressive thing to be a priest in the city of St. Ambrose and St. Charles Borromeo, and yet a stranger,—a gazer,—a mere English looker-on,—a tourist,—where one should be upon one's knees, at home, and in that divine temple a legitimate worshipper. But where rests the blame? Alas! the sour logic of controversy may be as convincing as it usually is to men whose minds were made up, as almost all minds are, independently of it; but, since Eve tempted and Adam fell, has there ever been a strife when both sides were not to blame? In a difference so broad and complicated, so many-veined and intertwisted, as that between Rome and us, *never was there so monstrous a faith as that which would believe that all the wrong was with Rome and all the right with England.* Yet men have been seen with the mortal eye, who had the capacity to receive this and put trust in it. It is distressing, truly, to be in a wonderful church like this of Milan; to be sure you reverence the memory of St. Ambrose, and have a deep affection for the very name of Borromeo, and are not without Christian thought for Saints Gervasius and Protasius, as much as one half of the people you see there, and yet be shut out from all church offices; to have no home at the altars of that one Church, at whose altars, by apostolic ordination, you are privileged to consecrate the Christian mysteries.”—pp. 182-4.

And in another place the Stranger rebukes him in a similar strain:—

“You put forward the highest possible claims for your Church, often in a tone of pharisaical self-conceit, as though the usages and beliefs of the greater part of Christendom were of no account whatever in your eyes. You repeatedly indulge in a very offensive sort of commiseration of Rome, forgetting, on the one hand, that you are very young, and, on the other, that Rome's communion is much more extensive than your own, and comprehends wisdom and holiness which must demand the respect of every modest and thoughtful man.”—pp. 362-3.

But let us hear him upon the particular practices and institutions peculiar to our Church. We have already seen the

* No. lxiii. (July 1842) p. 105.

neglect of clerical celibacy in the Anglican body put forward among the impeachments to which their Church is liable in the eyes of Catholic Christendom. Upon this topic Mr. Faber does not speak in his own person. He leaves to the Stranger the task of enforcing it, which he does at considerable length (pp. 126-31); alleging no fewer than nineteen reasons in support of it. Mr. Faber's private views may be gathered from the following extract, though it bears directly upon the monastic, not the missionary life:—

"People, who never tried them, say lives of monastic penance are easy to be passed. No: amid the joys of marriage, and the pretty science of young children, and the friendly looks of a kind neighbourhood, it is easy to write off a life of penance in a few minutes; but who could in calm reflection expand the years of solitary weariness, of hardness and mortification, of wakeful scholarship, of perpetual prayer, unvisited by a softness or a joy beyond what a bird, or a tree, or an unusually blue sky may bring him,—with a trust in Christ as pure, complete, and self-abandoning as theirs who so write, and with a knowledge of his Christian liberty as clear and as enlarged; who could expand all this out of the few current phrases into which it is compressed, and not feel that it is harder to be a monk than a missionary? And for the estimation of it, let people account, whether monastic teachers of theology, such as the princely and erudite Benedictines, take not that 'special' rank St. Paul speaks of, as the 'double honour' due to the presbyters who labour in the word and doctrine. O let us not, at least, condemn virtues as alloyed with impure doctrinal motives, when the truth is we have not the heart, the hardness, or the love, to prosecute such virtues ourselves."—p. 142.

On a subsequent occasion—a dialogue with the "Stranger," most appropriately held in the beautiful Armenian convent of San Lazzaro, at Venice—the expediency of the revival of the monastic institute in England is discussed at length. The advantages contemplated are three:—1. That the existence of monastic bodies would supply a vent for that unregulated religious enthusiasm, which, in the present state of torpor, evaporates in fanaticism and dissent. 2. That they afford the only means of coping with the spiritual destitution of the overgrown manufacturing population of the great towns. 3. That they would strengthen the hands of the bishops, give efficiency to the exercise of their authority, and practically enlarge the range of their jurisdiction. The discussion is conceived in a spirit which displays the most just appreciation of the nature and duties of the religious life. Nothing could be more exquisite than the sketch of the Benedictine institute and manner of life. (pp. 429-34.) Were it not that the very

impossibility of its realization in the Anglican Church is the best foundation of our hope, it would be difficult to think, without a feeling of melancholy regret, that so much energy and zeal should be wasted upon what is, and must be, a chimerical project. The second reason is worthy of being well considered:—

“‘Another advantage would be, an ability to cope with the immense manufacturing population of your country. I see no other means by which you can cope with it as a Church should. Picture to yourself the huge moral wilderness of countless souls who throng the earth around the English factories. What spiritual lever do you apply to these masses of corrupt yet energetic life? In each district two or three churches, with perhaps four priests, men of soft habits, elegant manners, and refined education. This forms what is called the English Church in that manufacturing district. Surely it is unnecessary to point out the absurd inadequacy, or genteel feebleness, call it what you please, of such a moving power; neither have you, or are you likely to have, at your command, the pecuniary means to multiply churches and priests by hundreds and by thousands. But set down one or two ecclesiastical factories among them, in the shape of monasteries; combine in them much of the rough rude energy which now evaporates in chartism or dissent, and you will soon see a very different state of things indeed. Transplant the monastery of Camaldula from the bleak Apennine frontier of Romagna, with its cenobites and hermits; let there be one incessant round of prayer, preaching, education, roughly, in season and out of season; send the poor monks out among the poor from whence they have been taken; interfere for the weak against the oppressor; let charity and sympathetic watchfulness, which is ever more prized than almsgiving, run over exuberantly, and be flowing night and day from the gates of the monastery.’ ‘Ah,’ said I, ‘did you but know England, you would see what a dream you are dreaming!’ ‘A dream, young man!’ he answered sternly, ‘am I then to believe, what I have been told on many sides, that your Church is but a dream, and your churchmen dreamers with an unrealized theology, not a branch of the Catholic vine, true, healthy, strong, vigorous, growing, pliable, gifted, tangible, substantial? What! cannot it adapt itself, by great turnings and bold measures, to altered circumstances? Has its political establishment crippled its powers? Ah! have you not perchance made an illuminated transparency, a soothing sight for quiet times, and sat before it so long and so complacently, that you now venture to call it a Catholic Church.’”—pp. 361-2.

Alas! who can reflect upon the present anomalous position of the enthusiastic party to which Mr. Faber belongs,—

seekers and longers after Catholic truth and Catholic practice, trammelled by the indelibly Protestant spirit of all the usages and institutions of their Church, and striving in vain to realize within her pale the principles which an anxious study of antiquity has inspired;—who can think upon the apparent earnestness and fervour with which they seek to breathe a new spirit into her cold and inanimate forms, persuading themselves the while that they are thus divesting her of the Protestant character which is but too plainly stamped upon her from her very birth, and not be touched, even painfully, by the truth of this simple expostulation? Truly it is the veriest dream! Let us hope and pray that “it is now the time to rise from sleep; for now their salvation is nearer than when they believed.”

Nor is it the mere external form of monasticism that Mr. Faber prizes, and would introduce among his countrymen. He enters fully into all the practices of the interior life, in a way which shows that the admiration is far more than superficial. We could hardly expect to read in one of our own authors a warmer panegyric of voluntary chastisement, mortification of the appetites and of the will, holy silence, and the other exercises of the ascetic life, even down to the little practices of piety which (as the use of the blessed sign of the cross), we employ as memorials of God's presence, or as preventives of temptation and of sin. What could be more consoling than the following? It is from a dialogue with the “Stranger,” on a silent hill above the Greek convent, near the plain of Marathon:—

“‘But the one which I could specify now, as connected with the public and private devotions of Christians, is the frequent recurrence in nature of the powerful and hallowed sign of the cross. ‘And this,’ said I, ‘is one of the safeguards against sin, in common use among the ascetics.’ ‘I should hope,’ he replied, ‘that there was no Christian who was ashamed to sign himself with the sign of the cross, especially when, from any sudden and apparently causeless irruption of unchaste thoughts, he has reason to believe his chamber is filled with unclean spirits. Surely it is a great privilege not to be forbidden the use of that effectual token. To a serious man, how quickly it raises a fence between the world and himself! How it reminds him of his New Birth, when he rises in the morning! How does it meekly defy the evil angels, when he leaves his chamber for the day! How does it bless his bed, when he retires to rest! How does it, as it were, absolve him in the dead of the night, from the guilt of miserable dreams! How is it a very real and felt contact with the invisible world! O blessed

sign! how art thou like the finger of the Lord, the touch of one whom we love and fear!" 'How fearless, too,' said I, 'was the use of this dread admonition among the saints of old! For what is wanting in Tertullian's catalogue? 'At every stir and movement, at every coming in and going out, at putting on the clothes and binding on the sandals, at the bath and at the banquet, at the lighting of the lamps, at lying down or sitting, whithersoever the conversation of our life leadeth us, we do wear our forehead with the sign of the cross.'" 'And nature, too,' he replied, 'was full of this sign to them when they walked abroad. Not only were the pools of water, and the fields of corn, instructive shadows of the font and the altar, and the olive yards of their holy unction, and the vines of the redeeming Blood; but the cross, too, was everywhere,—among the boughs, and in the clouds, and on the plains, and on the skins of beasts. If St. Ephrem saw a little bird fly, he remembered, that with outstretched wings, it was making the sign of the cross before heaven; and that, if it closed its wings and marred the sign, it straightway fell to the earth. If he trusted himself on ship-board, he looked up to the mast, and, behold! a cross; and when they spread the sail, it was like the Body of One hanging on the cross, propelling the ship, and forthwith the ship became the Church, and the fierce sea the world, and there was One on board Whose Presence is our haven!"—pp. 425-6.

Mr. Faber's views on the subject of the papacy, as far as it is possible to collect them from his conferences with the "Stranger," do not seem to differ much from those entertained by the rest of the new school. Maintaining, as they do, the substantial identity of their Church today, with the "Catholic Church in England," founded by St. Austin, the papacy is one of their most perplexing difficulties. On other questions it is perhaps possible (we mean, of course, in their view of the *negative* character of the articles) to hold what they believe to be Catholic opinions, even when they appear unsanctioned by, nay, opposed to the letter of the articles. Every one knows what a tumult was excited by the "special pleading," by which it was sought to reconcile the thirty-first article with the Catholic doctrine of the mass. It may perhaps be possible, notwithstanding, for a man, in the fervour of his anxiety to "unprotestantize" the articles, to persuade himself that the condemnation neither "regards the mass in itself, nor its being an offering, though commemorative, for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin."* We can even imagine it possible for a zealous Anglican to hope

* Tract 90, p. 63, third edition.

against hope, that the retrenchment of the commemoration of the dead in the remodelling of the book of Common Prayer was merely negative, nor intended to condemn this catholic practice. But the position of the Church with regard to the papacy precludes the application of such principles to this doctrine. The renunciation of obedience in the sixteenth century, was a practical, positive, and overt act, to which not the framers of the articles only, but the entire Church was committed; and to which she continues practically committed as long as the separation subsists. Hence, whatever may be said of other points, on the papacy there is no room for compromise, no *via media* between Rome and England: the thirty-eighth article but embodies what is the essential principle of Anglicanism, and "whatever reasons there are against it, are so far reasons against remaining in the English Church.†" The Tractarians maintain, therefore, that, whatever may have been the duty of obedience while the Anglican Church actually found itself under the papal dominion, as that dominion was not "directly from revelation, but an event in Providence," when it ceased to be, it ceased to claim their obedience; and it ceased, according to them, at the Reformation. They find themselves under the king now, and they obey him; just as before, when they found themselves under the Pope, they obeyed him also.

We are but stating the outlines of this theory; the reasons by which it sought to bear out its broad and sweeping assertions will demand at our leisure a separate examination. Mr. Faber hardly enters into them at all, and we have stated so much merely in order that his opinion may be more fully understood. It might appear at first sight that a person holding such opinions would gladly sympathize with what are called the Gallican principles regarding the papal authority. With him it is precisely the reverse. He abhors it as "a vile, unworthy and disloyal child of the selfish Sorbonne," (p. 623), a system "with which no high-hearted man can sympathize." (p. 114.) His sympathies run in precisely the opposite direction. He regards every "national" system as radically defective, he looks with reverence to the "magnificent idea of the papacy," (p. 72), deplors the separation of Greece from Rome, as "an inauspicious blight on the venerable Churches of the East," and rejects the notion that the emancipation of the national churches from the subjection to Rome,

* Tract 90, p. 77, third edition.

has conferred upon them a "nobler individuality." Considering the question historically, he "is not slow to admit the many blessings of which the papacy has been the cause." (p. 413.) It was the centre "from which most of Europe was christianized, and held together in unity after it was made Christian;" and during the dogmatical aberrations of the early centuries, it was ever a "jealous spy and effectual restraint upon the subtilizing temper of the East." Even still he regards Rome as the "legitimate capital of Christendom." (p. 377.) He admits that even in these days the papacy is "a captivating idea, for it seems a shorter road to unity than any other" (p. 413); his "foreign sympathies rest mainly with the Latin Church," (p. 598), and he "dares not say, and will not think, that the office of Rome is over." (p. 596.)

In all this, however, strong as it may appear, he does not go beyond what has been already equivalently admitted by other members of his party; and perhaps it is reconcilable with the theory, that the papal supremacy was providentially permitted, though it had no foundation in primitive divine institution. Elsewhere, however, he goes further. He admits that, "the lower we stoop to decypher the mysterious characters in which it is traced, *the more manifestly do they appear divine*." (p. 378.) He "reverences Rome and Rome's primacy, because of that reverential instinct which he finds in the writers of antiquity" (p. 414); and "by no means denies that there was a *divine sanction* for it." (p. 413.) It is not easy to reconcile this language with the human institution of the papal supremacy which is the basis of the Anglican theory.

Yet it would appear, after all, that Mr. Faber adopts the same view. It is, as usual, brought out in a dialogue with the "Stranger" at Ancona, the only papal city which they visited.

"'Certainly,' replied I, laughing, 'it requires an effort to pass by Rome, but I shall console myself with the thought, that "earth has something yet to show," the haunted hills of the legitimate capital of Christendom.' 'Are you not afraid,' said he, 'to acknowledge that title?' 'No,' I answered, 'Rome has been a marvellously fruitful mother, and the curious diligence of antiquarians cannot alter the fact, that we of the west at least are her children. I am the more forward in confessing our mother's dignity, because I would question or limit the exercise of some of her maternal rights.'"

"'There are,' said he, with a very thoughtful expression of face, 'sometimes important steps taken by us in life, steps which turn our feet unconsciously into a new path; and we have afterwards

fears and misgivings about them, for no other reason, than that their importance, perhaps inadequately realized by us at the time, now alarms us. Their grandeur overshadows our spirits, and envelopes them for a season in gloom. Glimpses of possible consequences sometimes breed a panic within us. Something of the same sort of feeling oppresses me when I reflect on the history of the papacy. One while the idea elevates me by its greatness; another, it dejects me by its boldness.' 'It is,' said I, 'really an awful page in the history of man; and the lower we stoop to decypher the mysterious characters in which it is written, the more manifestly do they appear divine.' 'This,' said he, 'seems to have struck the world so early as the council of Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century.' 'Yet,' I replied, 'the fathers of Chalcedon strove to make out the primacy of St. Peter's successor to be a political matter only.' 'But,' he answered, 'the feelings of the Christian world did not respond to their notion. It was, I think, thrown out by them as a feeler. However, it did not satisfy men, and carried no influence with it.' 'Had it been but an affair of politics,' said I, 'it would not have kept its wonderful hold upon the reverence of the faithful, when Belisarius and Narses had reduced Rome into one of the provincial cities of the eastern empire.' 'And yet,' said he, 'we must not press the feelings and indistinctly realized sense of antiquity into a doctrine or formal statement. It will not bear it. The early fathers saw something about Rome, they hardly knew what; something which distinguished her from other Churches. One of the heathen emperors,—Aurelian, if I mistake not,—referred a dispute to the bishop of Rome, in some such way as to show a belief in his mind, that his Christian subjects looked up to the chair of Rome. He was, doubtless, expressing something which he had observed. Some of the fathers, as Tertullian, speak of the peculiar happiness of the Church of Rome, where the two Apostles were martyred, and St. John confessed. Others seem to regard it in a peculiar way, as the only clearly apostolic chair in the west. Others, again, as being in type as a Church, what St. Peter was as an apostle; and indeed this is true, for Rome is a type of the whole Church. I, too, see, even in early times, something distinguishing that Church very honourably;—an almost miraculous fecundity in planting Churches, and this, of course, paved the way for the subsequent growth of the papacy. Then other early writers noticed her long freedom from heresy as something peculiar, and called her the Virgin Church. Her conduct in the Arian troubles, during the pontificates of Julius, Liberius, and Damasus, would also dispose and consolidate her influence throughout the universal Church. Indeed, a passage in St. Gregory Nazianzen's poem on his own life, shows with what affectionate reverence even the eastern doctors regarded her; and it is more striking in that Gregory himself was patriarch of Constantinople.' 'Yet,' said I, 'it

is not possible for Rome to substantiate the present claims of the papacy out of primitive writers.' 'It is a mistake,' said he, 'to attempt it. The papacy should rest its cause on other foundations. It has, rightly viewed, very solemn justifications.'—pp. 377-80.

We regret that we cannot continue this disquisition, which is certainly a curiosity in its way. It has seldom been our lot to encounter a more free-and-easy reasoner than this same "Man of the Middle Ages." He has a most enviable knack of disposing, by a single sentence, of facts and authorities on which others, less happy, have been absurd enough to waste volumes. Into one brief but most expressive phrase, "reverential instinct," he manages to condense all that the fathers and councils have written upon the See of Peter. In their strongest language he can discover nothing more than an "indistinctly realized sense;" and to crown his self-complacent flippancy, even in this he declares most dogmatically that they did not understand themselves, and if they cherished this "reverential instinct," it was because "they saw something about Rome, they hardly knew what!" It would be difficult to find a more thorough-going system of interpretation in the most contemptuous modern reviler of the fathers. Surely Mr. Faber's prepossessions against the "modern papacy," have here prevailed over his habitual reverence for antiquity. He has mistaken (at least in this point) the tone and temper of a theorizing rationalist, in the nineteenth century, for the spirit of an orthodox churchman in those ages which he professes to revere so much, and to understand so well.

Taking this "reverential instinct" of the primitive epoch as the basis of his theory, the Stranger proceeds to trace the progress of the influence of the papacy. The position of Rome during what he calls the barbarian epoch, prepared the way for the part which it was destined to act in the great crisis of the Iconoclast controversy, and for the more defined supremacy of the Carlovingian epoch. Notwithstanding the disastrous times which followed, the struggles of the Franco-nian epoch but tended to display the marvellous vitality of the papacy, which the Hildebrandine epoch at length fully developed, at least, as far as it was destined to be realized. Thus, in a page or two of declamatory dogmatism, the whole matter is quietly disposed of. We are surprised it did not strike Mr. Faber that his friend of the Middle Ages has been all along confounding the *secular* with the *spiritual* influence of the papacy, and that not a single one of his facts, however

they may illustrate the former, is directly applicable to the latter view of the question.

The stranger goes on to explain how it was that the Church "shifted from the ground of primitive episcopacy to that of the mediæval papacy;" and employs as an illustration the changes of the forms of polity among the Jews, who, though originally placed under a pure theocracy, were afterwards brought under a kingly form of government, which was "divinely sanctioned in some lower sense than the other." Surely, when Mr. Faber adopts this illustration, he forgets by what agency the change was effected among the Jews;*—the very opposite of that by which he supposes (and by which his argument requires him to prove) the alteration of the system of Church polity to have taken place.

"Now, in a like way, primitive episcopacy was the pure theocracy of the Church; and the mysterious reverential instinct towards Rome implanted in the early Church, was, in my view, equivalent to the limits and provisions made in the law for the future kingdom. The mediæval papacy sprung out of sin. That is not to be questioned. Yet it restored and reinvigorated the faith and manners of the Church. It was, like the Jewish monarchy, the best possible state of things for degenerate ages. The state of the episcopal college during the Carlovingian, and again, during the Franconian epochs, was appalling beyond all measure. Charlemagne strove, in his day, to improve, by feudalizing it. This feudalized episcopacy was the cause of all the flagitious wickedness which characterized the bishops of the Franconian times. In short, the second era of episcopal corruption sprung from the secular means adopted to remedy the first. The episcopal college thus, in some measure, like the wicked sons of Eli, forfeited its rights. The wilful Church, for it was really the sense of Europe, and not, as it is often said, the artful ambition of sundry popes, called for a king, and received one who repaired the breaches and built up the waste places of Zion. Solomon's temple marked the new Hebrew polity; the magnificence of the Church characterized the papal monarchy. Might not this be a kind of sanction? The power of order and government resides in the universal Church, deposited with the multitude of the faithful. The episcopate was the divinely appointed means of expressing this. But the papacy was not the first step towards shifting from this ground. The patriarchal system of the fourth and fifth centuries is surely some modification of the primitive episcopacy. In it the power of the faithful was vested somewhat more exclusively, gathered up into fewer centres of unity. I

* See 1 Kings viii. 22.

speak not of sacerdotal power, or acts of consecration, blessing, or malediction, but of order and government. The patriarchal was, in some, though not in essential, points, a departure from the primitive episcopacy. In the papal system, the power was vested more exclusively still: it was gathered up—the power of the whole multitude of Catholics was gathered up—most awful venture!—into one frail old bishop. This was not done without the sanction of the Church. That sanction was never given in a formal way; yet it was really and sincerely given by the consent of the episcopal college, first here, and then there, and also by the well-nigh universal sense of the faithful. Rome received a call. I would fain see, in the primitive reverence for her, in the patriarchal system permitted by the universal Church in council, and in the providential ordering of historical circumstances; a kind of divine sanction of the new ground which the Church had taken up, a divine sanction of Rome's answering her call.”—pp. 385-7.

Well may Mr. Faber in his answer call this “bold dealing with history!” Well may the Stranger acknowledge that “some of the lines seem to stand out with too much hardness from his view!” However, with all its fancifulness and all its incongruity, we might not be surprised to find it put forward by Mr. Faber as his own. It might read plausibly enough as an extract from Mr. Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*; or serve to draw Mr. Newman's foot out of the snare of the thirty-eighth article. But we cannot help saying it was bad policy to put it into the mouth of a “Man of the Middle Ages.” How incongruous, for example, would it appear in the pages of St. Bernard, with whom we familiarly identify all that is learned and holy in those times, and whose very name, even in Mr. Faber's judgment, “speaks volumes against Arnold of Brescia.” What would he have thought of this airy theory of “reverential instinct”? How would it assort with the character of the *summa auctoritas et plenaria potestas* which he everywhere attributes to the “vicar of Christ” upon earth? We should be glad to see Mr. Faber translate into such language as he attributes here to the “stranger,” St. Bernard's famous letter to the Milanese on the authority of Pope Innocent;† or, if he prefer an English

* Vide St. Bernardi Opera, tom. i. p. 190, also i. p. 249, and i. 474, &c. *passim*. (Bened. edit.)

† “‘Some one will say,’ says he, ‘I will pay [to the Pope] the reverence which is due, and nothing more.’ ‘Be it so, do what you say; for if you pay the due, you will also pay unmodified, reverence. For, by a singular prerogative, the plenitude of power over all the Churches of the world hath been granted to the apostolic see.’”—tom. i. p. 141.

prelate, we would refer him to his own Lanfranc of Canterbury. "It is imprinted on the consciences of all," says he, in his controversy with the Archbishop of York, "to tremble at the menace, and applaud at the favours, of St. Peter's successors, just as at those of the saint himself; and the dispensation of ecclesiastical affairs is then ratified when it is approved by the judgment of the successors of St. Peter. To what is this attributable, but to the power of the divine liberality diffused by our Lord Jesus Christ, through St. Peter, even unto his vicars?"* How different is this, (and it is but one of a thousand similar testimonies from the same period) from the vague and fanciful theorizing of the imaginary "man of the Middle Ages!" Indeed, we fear that, if Mr. Faber must find a prototype for him in those times, he will be obliged to choose from a class with whom we are sure he has but little sympathy, and whom, had he lived among them, he would have found anything rather than reputable, not to say, safe, companions.

Beyond these half historical, half dogmatical dissertations, (in which everything is assumed), there is no direct proof of this theory regarding the papal supremacy. But, one or two facts are incidentally introduced, upon which it may be well to say a word.

The acts of the council held at Arles in 314 are adduced as conclusive "against the claims of the modern papacy." "The fathers," we are told, "regret the absence of the pope; but inform him that they are called together by the emperor, that their authority is divine, that they have a rule of faith whereby to direct themselves, and a divine commission, when so convened and directed to give sentence. They end by saying, 'what we have in council decreed, that we signify to your friendliness, in order that all may know what they ought in future to observe'. From this language we learn, first, that an anti-Nicene council did not think the pope what Romanists think him now: secondly, that yet they thought him something more than a common bishop: thirdly, that they probably regarded him, in right of his chair, as the voice and mouth-piece of the Church, in the west at least." (p.109.) In the first place, we must observe that Mr. Faber has most gratuitously generalized the claim to divine authority asserted by the council,—though, in point of fact, the fathers of the council only put it forward in their condemnation of

* Lanfranci Opera. Biblioth. Maxima Patrum, tom. xviii. p. 828.

Cæcilius and his party, who had been already condemned by the pope in the council of Rome.* It by no means follows that, because they have divine authority to condemn Cæcilius, (which is all they assert), they have the same authority to decide every other question. But, abstracting from this, we should be glad to know what it is that Romanists hold now with regard to the pope inconsistent with the claims of this council? Does Mr. Faber imagine that we believe the presence of the pope, or his authority, necessary for all, even particular synods, such as that of Arles. On the contrary, we maintain, that the primate or metropolitan is the legitimate president of a national or provincial synod. It is true that, in the present discipline, the confirmation of the pope is required. But is this disproved by the case of Arles? On the contrary, may it not be taken as an example of the antiquity of the usage? The very letter from which the words cited above are extracted, is that in which the bishops submit to the pope the decrees which, "in their mediocrity," they had passed. Mr. Faber tells us that the fathers regret the absence of the pope; but he forgets to subjoin the reason which they assign. It is not as a matter of ceremony, or because of the greater dignity of his chair, but because, had he been present, "their sentence would have been more severe." So that if the case of Arles prove anything at all, it is directly the reverse of what Mr. Faber would infer from it. But, even if his inference were correct as regards the council of Arles, still it would prove nothing at all with reference to the general question; for the council of Arles must be an exception to the general rule. It was convened by the emperor Constantine solely as a measure of policy and peace, for the purpose of silencing the murmurs of the Donatist party in Africa. The case of Cæcilian, which was submitted to it in order to "put an end to the obstinate dissensions still subsisting," had been already referred to Rome and decided by the pope.† But the Donatists still complained, alleging that they had not been fully heard; and, to silence their murmurs, Constantine called a council of the bishops of

* "Ubi graves ac perniciosas legi nostræ atque traditioni homines pertulimus, quos et præsens Dei nostri auctoritas, et traditio ac regula veritatis respuit." Labbe's Councils, tom. i. p. 2449. The words are clearly used only with reference to Cæcilian and his party.

† "Cum res fuisset apud urbem Romam ab idoneis et probatissimis viris episcopis terminata."—Constantine's letter to Elafius, convoking the council. Labbe, *ibid.* p. 2445.

Africa and Gaul to be held in Arles. The question submitted for peace sake to their decision, therefore, had been already decided by the pope; and their decree is but a confirmation of that already made by him. What argument could be drawn against the papal claims from the terms of such a decree, even if it had not been submitted to the pope, whereas it merely reiterated the sentence which he had already passed?

A similar fact is pressed into service (p. 56), to show that the Gallican Synod of Paris, held in 1406, "asserted its belief that there resides, even in a single branch of the Church Catholic, a power superior to that of the pope out of general council." The act from which this inference is drawn, is the declaration of the synod, by which "the prelates subtracted their obedience" from both the rival popes, Benedict XIII and Gregory XII. We need hardly say that this council was held towards the close of the unhappy schism of the West, when the contending parties, satisfied of the hopelessness of compromise, and conscious of the impossibility of settling the question of succession, had resolved, that the only prospect of terminating the schism lay in the resignation of both claimants, and the appointment of a new pontiff. At most, therefore, this precedent could only hold for a case of doubtful and disputed succession. But, in addition to this, Mr. Faber forgets that both Benedict and Gregory had each bound himself by oath at their election to resign, if his adversary consented. The decree of the Synod of Paris, therefore, in enforcing this oath, only executed a measure to which the pontiffs had already consented, and withdrew an allegiance which they had themselves expressly renounced. But even were it otherwise, the very acts of the council on which Mr. Faber's objection is based, supply the clear and unequivocal solution. The decree was expressly made only with a reference to the existing circumstances, and "saving the respect due to the apostolic see, and to the rights of the future lawful pope."*

But we are almost tempted to forget these and many other similar blemishes, in the fervour of such passages as the following. It is one of the last addresses of the "Stranger," and its enthusiasm might almost make us overlook his many backslidings on other occasions, and even in the very conversation of which it forms the conclusion:—

* See the history of this synod in the "Dictionnaire des Conciles," p. 370.

“‘Nay,’ said he, ‘what could I have done better for her than I have done? Rome has no cause to fear truth; she will gain by it in the end. Behold,’ continued he, raising his voice, while his face kindled with solemn enthusiasm, ‘behold, all hearts are turned towards Rome, all eyes are fixed upon her in love, hope, fear, and inquiry. Long has her mysterious character been seen, in that men could not feel indifference towards her, as a common city, but either fond love or bitter hatred has been her portion from every one who cared for the cross at all. The contracted limits and narrow sympathies of national Churches are again being destroyed. Gallicanism, that vile, unworthy, and disloyal child of the selfish Sorbonne, is now scattered for ever to the four winds of heaven; and the fresh waters, imprisoned by the salt sea in your own island, are bursting down their barriers with a sound to which all Europe listens. Oh, by the beauty of old Catholic England! Oh, by the memory of the old Saxon saints! I implore you, as a priest consecrating in the shrines of Augustine and of Anselm, to seek daily to feel and realize, and bear upon the Church Catholic, through and beyond your own national branch; throw yourself with a bold meekness into the capacious sympathies and magnificent affections of the Church universal; hide yourself in the mighty beatings of her universal heart. Are there none to set you an example; none whose meek humility and love of discipline can correct the vehemence and untutored zeal which tempts those who walk in a new path?’ ‘O yes,’ I replied, ‘there are lowly-minded men even in proud England, whose leaning on the Church Catholic is as bold and trustful as your own: we have men still, who walk in our cloisters, singing of the king’s daughter, and extolling her golden vestures. Nay, on this Asiatic shore, forgive me if I would leave behind an echo of noble English song,—a melody of one who sits uncomplaining by the waters of our Babylon, even thankful for the thin shade of the willows on that thirsty land, and speaking these glorious things of the city of our God:—

“‘Throughout the olden word, story and rite;
Throughout the new, skirting all clouds with gold;
Through rise and fall and destinies manifold
Of pagan empires; through the dreams and night
Of nature, and the darkness and the light;
Still young in hope, in disappointment old;
Through mists which fallen humanity enfold,
Into the vast and viewless infinite,
Rises the eternal city of our God.
Her towers, the morn, with disenchanting rod,
Dimly and darkly labours to dissolve,
Lifting the outskirts of the o’ermantling gloom:
Bright shapes come forth—arch, pinnacle and dome;
In heaven is hid its height and deep repose.’”—pp. 622-4.

Let us hope that there is many a heart in which this fervid adjuration will find an echo. Alas! who can remain blind to the hopelessness of the attempt to combat from within, in the Anglican Church, the unhappy influences which, as they impede the growth of Catholic principles, could not fail to stifle them, even were it possible to bring them to maturity? We are tempted to add one further extract, in which the fatal force of these influences is fully admitted and explained:—

“‘What is the difficulty to which you allude?’ said I. ‘It arises,’ he replied, ‘from a view of the historical character of your Church and her theology. The modern structure of your Church is revolutionary. It was rebuilt in haste, and, as with the Long Walls at Athens, fragments of tombs, statues, temples, and memorial pillars, were built into it, often upside down; and when the work was done, you found you had enclosed the besieger’s outposts within your city, instead of building him out altogether. You discovered two opposite religious tendencies united in your Church; one prevailing in this formulary, the other prevailing in that, both fettered by the same tests, and subjected to the same conditions of theological thought, without either having the ability to exorcise the other. The history of your Church, and indeed of your country, since that time, has been neither more nor less than the history of those rival tendencies.....Here is the difficulty. One of those tendencies must devour the other, before you can be in a condition, united at home, to work towards a unity abroad. Now the champions of each tendency have surely an equal claim to have their consciences respected, and their interpretations permitted, so long as their subscriptions are honest, and their obedience to the lawful sources of spiritual power and theological interference hearty and consistent. Yet I do not see how any synodical step, taken by the English Church now, could be anything but a condemnation of one or other of these tendencies, and its consequent ejection or departure from her pale; and the two tendencies are so evenly balanced in the country and among the clergy, that the consequences would be tremendous.’ ‘But,’ said I, ‘suppose the tendency with which you sympathize were ejected, we might hope’—— ‘Do not suffer yourself to hope anything,’ he replied; ‘confusion in such a case *must* ensue, and in the middle of confusion *might* come ruin.’”—pp. 175-6.

We have looked in vain for any solution of this difficulty. The Stranger, when appealed to as to the remedy, replies, that he “knows not, though he has often thought of it.” He admits that “it is a great difficulty;” and his only consolation is the vague assurance, that “Providence will get them over it if they deserve it.” Surely, for those “who aim at being Catholic in heart and spirit,” it is trifling with sacred things to trust their fate to such a contingency.

A great difficulty it unquestionably is, and one which the present contest of the rival tendencies is every day developing more clearly. It is admitted on all hands that both the rival tendencies—popularly called the Catholic and the Protestant—may claim a place within the English Church, “one prevailing in this formulary, the other in that;” one in the prayer-book, the other in the articles. Mr. Faber admits that “neither is able to exorcise the other;” and even that the Church herself “cannot excommunicate heresy.” (p. 363.) The very utmost that is claimed for the articles, even by those who would put a Catholic construction upon them, is, that they are “articles of peace,” “leaving open large questions,”* “indeterminate statements.”† They are acknowledged to be “equivocal and indecisive,” and to “wear an ambiguous character.”‡ The Oxford school makes no secret of its “regret at their tone,”§ and is even thankful that they are “merely indecisive, and not decisive on the wrong side.”|| How, we ask, can any man who believes that Christ gave his Church any authority at all, believe that He could have invested it in an organ so weak, inefficient, unpractical, and every way unworthy? What right-minded man can recognize in this stammering, indecisive, time-serving policy, the spirit of that ever-watchful guide with whom Christ “is all days;” to whom it was promised in type, “my spirit which is in thee, and my words that I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed’s seed, saith the Lord, henceforth and for ever”? Who does not see that the representative of God’s authority, to be effective, should speak in plain and unequivocal language, and that otherwise it is but a solemn mockery, leading men whither they know not, or a delusive snare for souls, and a cloak for the worst form of private judgment,—a judgment invested with the semblance of divine authority?

But even forgetting this for a moment, what would be the practical utility of such an authority? Take the present controversy on what is called the Catholic movement as an example. Suppose an humble inquirer disposed in its favour, but distracted by the array of learning, and divided by the conflicting claims, upon each side of the question, yet eager to

* Tract 90, p. 81.

† Ibid. p. 4.

‡ “Explanation of a passage in the article on Bishop Jewel,” p. 14.

§ British Critic, No. lxi. p. 242.

|| Explanation, &c. p. 15.

follow with reverence the guidance of the Church. Where is he to look for the manifestation of its will? What is its organ? The formularies? But they are in direct conflict with one another; and that one which alone is, properly speaking, dogmatical, is admitted to be "equivocal and indecisive." The bishops? But they are claimed by both sides, and, if they be not decidedly hostile to the Catholic movement, cannot, at least, be taken as authorities in its favour. Many have held back from the question altogether, and those who have spoken, would, we fear, be but unhappy representatives of the Catholic interpretation of the articles. One condemns it as "a grievous impeachment of the Church's character for truth and discretion;"† another (the Tractarians' own diocesan), as one "by which the articles might be made to mean anything or nothing." The bishop of Durham calls it "an elaborate attempt to explain away their real meaning;" the bishop of Ripon considers "the integrity of subscription endangered by it." It has filled the bishop of Gloucester "with astonishment and concern;" the archbishop of Armagh declares, that it "destroys the value of the articles as a standard of faith;" the bishop of Hereford deprecates it as "a revival of notions, not only in themselves delusive, but tending to the introduction of subterfuges fatal to the penitent sinner's hope, subversive of the whole gospel scheme, and directly in the face of the obvious declarations of the Church;" and the bishop of Exeter declares it "absurd as well as inconsistent, its principle of interpretation most unsound, and the reasoning by which it is supported sophistical." Alas, is not this authority of the Church in his regard, as though it were not at all?

But even though we take a case infinitely more favourable than the reality;—though we suppose the majority of the clergy to agree in the most Catholic sense of the articles, and to acknowledge that the Catholic opinions are not directly inconsistent with their letter, what does it amount to after all? It is at the very best but a bare *toleration* of the truth:—the tendency of her teaching is towards error, but perhaps the truth is not entirely excluded, and may, possibly, with much labour and ingenuity, be reconciled with the natural and grammatical sense of her formularies. This is the very utmost that has

* "The Laws of the Church, the Churchman's Guard against Romanism and Puritanism, in two charges, by the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor." (p. 14.) The remaining quotations are from the charges of the other prelates.

been attempted to be proven. And will any man of common feeling say, that the doctrinal office of the Church has no loftier scope than this? that she can ever be degraded into the character of one, whose best praise is, that she does not entirely exclude the truth! Alas, if so, how dimmed the *Lux mundi*! how fallen and humiliated the *Civitas supra montem posita, quæ abscondi non potest*!

It were well, however, if this were all, and if no more grievous impeachment could be preferred against the Anglican Church. But may she not, even on the showing of the Tractarians themselves, be convicted of what they, and all who seek even the shadow of Catholic principles, must regard as a direct and palpable suppression of the truths which they cherish as the very essence of Catholic belief? Has she not, in her articles, hidden and buried these precious truths under forms of words, not only "equivocal and indecisive," but so directly conveying the opposite meaning, that it is only by a process of ingenious torture, which all must deem unnatural, and which the anti-Tractarians do not scruple to call dishonest, that they can be twisted even into the merest toleration of them? It is not alone, that the truth is not professed; it is impossible not to see that it is studiously and wilfully concealed. How few are there who can detect it under the bald and barren phraseology of the articles? Nay, how few to whom they do not produce the effect, not merely of a *suppressio veri*, but of a plain and irresistible *suggestio falsi*? Who, for example, is not irresistibly impelled by the tone and tenor of the thirty-first article, to reject altogether the life-giving sacrifice of the altar? Who can persuade himself that it is not intended to exclude altogether every idea of an "offering of Christ for the quick and the dead"? Mr. Faber deals tenderly with this article, when he merely accuses it of "*clouding* the sacrifice of the altar." Surely it not only clouds, but obliterates, every trace of its existence; and surely it is too mild a character of such teaching, to say, that it is "equivocal and indecisive." Can we doubt that it is "decisive upon the wrong side"? And, if we regard such doctrines as forming part of the great deposit of Catholic truth, can we hesitate to pronounce this cowardly and culpable suppression of them, a "detaining of the truth of God in injustice?"

To entertain oneself, therefore, with the idea of such an authority, is but to trifle with an imposing name. May it not well be suspected that the Catholic movement in the English Church, which, far from originating either in the formularies

of the Church itself, or in the bishops who might most naturally be taken as the representatives of her authority, on the contrary, if it be not actually condemned by both, cannot claim from either more than the merest toleration,—is, after all, a voice in, not of the Church;—a subtle refinement of private interpretation, without weight, because without commission; without permanence, because unembodied in any determinate organ; without utility, because incapable of being applied in any practical emergency; and far from being calculated to create and preserve unity, itself the very occasion of discord and disunion, by claims which cannot be supported and which will not be obeyed? And how can it be otherwise, in a body which comprises members so motley and incongruous? What can possibly be hoped from, we will not say, the union, but even the co-existence, of two tendencies so utterly irreconcilable. What permanence, nay, what passing fruit, can be hoped from an attempt to engraft Catholic doctrines upon a system whose institutions are essentially Protestant to their very core; to cherish Catholic feelings, and enkindle or keep alive a Catholic spirit, in a Church which it is first necessary to “*unprotestantize*,”* as a preliminary to its reform? Men’s views are dependent on external things, and take their tone and colour from the scenes in which they live and the objects by which they are surrounded. Will the mere change of name produce an alteration of spirit? Will the substitution of Catholic for Protestant, and the adoption of the technical language in which some of the leading doctrines of Catholicity are embodied,—especially when this is unauthoritative, if not against authority,—be sufficient to eradicate from the constitution of the Church, the inveterate Protestantism in which her present form originated, and which centuries of rampant anti-Catholic prejudice have hardened and ground in? Alas, the life-giving doctrines of Catholicity, to whatever extent they may be embraced by individuals, must ever be strangers in such companionship;—a theory without a practice; a beautiful dream without a reality. No wonder it should “be thought by many persons that the doctrine of apostolical succession is formal, unpractical, little fitted to cope with the social evils under which we labour.”† Well may men sigh for the “secret intercourse between priest and penitent, by far the best adapted machi-

* See the “British Critic,” No. lxiii. (July 1845) p. 211, and following.

† Ibid. p. 78.

nery which the world has seen, to keep alive that keen sensitiveness of conscience which worldly trouble so miserably deadens;* for the sight of "holy men voluntarily renouncing the comforts of wealth, and reducing themselves to their level, in order to minister to their spiritual and bodily wants!" While these and the other similar devices of piety which the Catholic Church alone cherishes, which are the necessary complement of her doctrines, and, as it were, the visible form in which her spirit is embodied, are wanting,—so long it is vain to talk of a "Catholic system." So long it will be but an array of names imposing but unreal; so long will faith be formal and unpractical, with a blight and a chill upon its energies; so long must rush upon the mind the startling question with which Mr. Faber closes his volume, in the "Stranger's" words: "You have led me through a land of closed churches and hushed bells, of unlighted altars and un-stoled priests; 'IS ENGLAND UNDER AN INTERDICT?'"

ART. V.—*Science and Rank.* London: 1842.

IT lately happened to us to read D'Alembert's short account of himself, which is prefixed to his collected works; in which, as any one may see, he gives more words to the fact that he had been graciously received at a small German court, than to that of his being the author of some fifteen quarto volumes, abounding in mathematical and physical investigations of the richest character, of the value of which he must have been well aware, as well as of the posthumous fame they were destined to command, and the impulse they were actually beginning to give. The instance was most remarkable: D'Alembert was no personal follower of the great, and neither sought nor received any very peculiar marks of favour from his own government. He had long been the intimate friend and correspondent of Frederic, and had been sought on any terms by Catherine of Russia. If autograph letters from sovereigns would have satiated any feelings of self-exaltation, his desk was full of them; and he might have pretended to know as little of the existence of

* See the "British Critic," No. lxi. (July 1842) p. 78.

Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, as the M.P. did of Russell-square. But no! when he came to think about himself in his own quiet study, his presentation at the court just alluded to, was, if we may judge by the place it occupies, and the terms in which he speaks of it, one of the cynosures of his thoughts. Nor had he the excuse, that

“At a pinch Lord Ballyraggum
Was better than no lord at all;”

for he had just been speaking of two sovereigns of far greater power, added to personal qualifications of a remarkable kind.

We give up the old idea of the philosopher estimating men by their real worth, and we shall suppose that Diogenes would not go to see Alexander, only because he knew that, on his refusal, Alexander would go to see him. We presume it must be conceded, that political station invests its owners, be they in themselves remarkable or not, with such a magic appearance, that no head, the outside of which is ungarnished by some symbol of rank, can refuse to feel the charm, whatever the inside may contain. It is our object, in the present article, to make some comparison of the manifestations of this feeling in England at different periods since the invention of printing: and this merely to amuse the reader, and not with any idea of drawing a moral one way or the other. The feeling itself is one which we can neither praise nor blame: as Newton said of gravitation, all we know is, that it exists and acts. It is a stronger support of governments, than any conviction of their necessity and utility; and if the servile excess to which it has sometimes been carried be disgusting, those who have more dignity may try to persuade themselves, when feeling conscious that they regard an unworthy object with more respect than is properly due, that it is the principle of government and of social right to which they pay homage, and not the mere representative of conventional rank. Something of this sort the beasts must have said to themselves when they courted the fox, because he was made viceroy by the lion.

In forming our opinion of the manner in which the smaller bear themselves towards the greater, there is a wide distinction to be drawn, according as the two are of the same or different species: we shall explain what we mean. The deference paid by a lawyer to the judge, a clergyman to the bishop, or a Westminster fag to his master (we beg pardon of any of

the classes which is offended by the juxtaposition), can hardly be degrading to its wearer, unless there is some reason to suppose, that he is seeking, by peculiar servility, to obtain some particular act of favour; unless it is some one judge from whom he has something to gain, &c. The reason is, that the lawyer is himself the stuff of which a judge is made, the clergyman may be on his way to a mitre of his own, and (with a better prospect than either, one with another), the *fag* may become a master in his turn. The grub who admires the splendid butterfly, is contemplating his own coming perfections: and we should not be surprised if the well-known truth, that those who are unbecomingly deferential to superiors, are the most arrogant when themselves reach high station, arises, in many cases, partly out of a sort of desire to justify the previous conduct: if I do not show how high I now think myself, how shall I explain why it was that I appeared to think so much of others in the same position—such may be the words proper to express a feeling which may lurk in a less defined form. However this may be, we think we have observed, in the dedications of those of one class to others of the same, even in the midst of unusual expressions of adulation, a more manly character imparted to the whole: as if it had been, I say no more of you than others may one day say of me, and, in elevating you, I elevate *our* class, and therefore *myself*. And often, when we have heard of the signal advantages which, we are told, accrue to the army and navy from the rapid elevation of men of rank, we have supposed that when (as is likely enough to be the case with twenty years more of peace) the higher branches of both services are nearly filled with civil greatness, the deference of a large proportion of the juniors in rank to those above them, will cease to be that of men on their way to men who have made their way, and will more resemble that which the public at large pay to hereditary station. When that day comes, we fear that some part of the character which a searching war has given to both services will be sensibly deteriorated.

The manner in which science comes in contact with rank, is either in the form of dedication or other written monument of respect or gratitude; or in that of ordinary communication in the common relations of life. In looking at old times, we can of course only see the former: it rarely or never happens that biography lets us into any knowledge of the latter. To dedications, then, we must look, in the first

instance, and a very brief examination will divide them into several kinds. We shall particularly distinguish, what we may call, the dignified, the adulatory, and the idolatrous.

Of the first class, little is to be said: they emanate from those minds which can keep in sight, without abasement, the circumstances which have caused the dedication, whether the station of the person addressed, favours conferred upon, or assistance given to, the dedicator, or circumstances peculiarly connected with the work in question. In the second class, we find personal praise bestowed upon the object of the address, independently of his station. The dedicator places himself at the feet of the other, not merely as a small man before one of rank or power, but as a little intellect before a commanding one. He submits his work to the criticism of the peer or prince, dreads his censure, would fall to the ground quite abashed with the sense of his own imperfections of style, matter, or logic, if it were not that he knows the candour and indulgence of his noble critic to be qualities which are always making head (perhaps too successfully; but the weakness is an amiable one, which adds, if possible, to the love and veneration with which the civilized world regard him) against his stern love of truth, impatience of all impertinent introduction, and deep knowledge of the matter in hand. He is encouraged further by the nobleness of the subject, which great kings and princes have often so far regarded as to smile upon the efforts of one as humble as himself, whose only merit is, that he has done his very best, and whose exceeding great reward, and all-sufficient stimulus to further exertion, it will be, if he might only live to hear that his book has found a place upon the meanest shelf of his august patron's splendid library, &c. &c.

Of the adulatory dedication, there is at least this to be said: in any one case it is possible it may be true. There are men of rank, of whom as much can be said as of any men whatever, and it is not impossible, that any one of the subjects of an adulatory dedication may be of such a description. Besides, we can hardly judge of the writer of such a piece of flattery, till we know whether he did the job for what he had got, or for what he hoped to get. It would be uncharitable to measure nicely what a man says of his benefactor, and feelings of gratitude may make a bad man appear good, a dull one clever, and an ignorant one wise. But there is no such excuse for the idolatrous dedication. The writer of this performance, instead of lying on the ground, and

directing his lord's attention upwards to the sky where he has found the light which, humble as he is, he thinks may be some excuse for his presumptuous intrusion, swears that the sun itself is his patron's most obedient servant. He takes the science on which he writes by the hand, and introduces her as a humble suppliant to the great man's notice. Geometry, astronomy, and physics, are going, going—gone, unless some peer or knight of the garter, whose name has not come down except in the dedication in question, will condescend to take them (not their writer) under his wing. That human greatness honours *science* by its favour, is by no means an uncommon assertion, though we must do former ages the justice to say that it is not so much theirs as ours. God's law of nature—the manner in which it has pleased the Creator to arrange His work—is made a higher and a better thing by the gracious notice of kings and dukes. Why not go a step further, and say, that the moral laws are equally honoured by such observance as (upon that hypothesis) the ruling powers would vouchsafe to pay them? “Much, my lord,” should be said, “as justice and temperance have benefited mankind at large, and much more as they would do so if they were more generally observed, yet we cannot but feel how much higher they would deserve to be held, if they had your lordship's kind notice and patronage.”

We shall first look through the dedications of some of the works, the authors of which have most essentially served the promotion of science. We find, with much satisfaction, that there is hardly any tendency to servility manifested in the writings of such men, and we shall begin with the great work of Copernicus (1543). This opens with a pressing letter from cardinal Schonberg to the author, requesting, in strong terms, the publication of his discoveries: and is followed by a dedication from Copernicus himself to the reigning pope, Paul III. In this dedication, there is not one word of personal compliment, save only, that he had heard, in his remote corner of the earth, that the pontiff was distinguished by his love of literature, and of mathematics in particular. The rest is simple apology for the advance of a new opinion, dwelling strongly on the persuasion under which he published, on the length of time (nearly forty years) which his system had lain by him for consideration, and on the acknowledged imperfection of the existing astronomy.

Next we take the work in which Napier announced his invention of the logarithms (1614). It is dedicated to prince

Charles (Charles I) in a short address bordering upon the adulatory, but not to an offensive extent, and decidedly redeemed by a plain declaration that *princes* of great minds admire the sciences because of their effects upon the understanding, while ignorant *men* (it might have been too blunt to say princes again, but the antithesis is thrown clearly enough upon the adjectives), hate them as the enemies of their own ignorance and sloth. There is too much about the work being unworthy of being presented to so meritorious a prince, &c.: which was not all modesty, because Napier well knew, as he says, **that more could be done in one hour by his new method**, than in a day by the old ones. We find it hard to believe that Napier really thought so highly of prince Charles: the excess is but a small one, all things considered, but we should like to see such a man as Napier come out as clear as any one.

The work of Albert Girard, to which algebra is under great but not well known obligations, was dedicated to no higher a person than Henry de Bergaigne, captain in the service of the States of Holland: a pupil, probably, of the author.

The only dedication which we have of Vieta's is one addressed in his "*In Artem Analyticen Isagoge*," to Catherine of Parthenay, duchess of Rohan, and mother of the French Huguenot leader, and duke of that name. This lady, according to Vieta's account, had saved him from imprisonment and death, and several times from want. But, though dwelling on the grandeur of her family, and the good promise of her sons, he does not indulge in any great strain of personal compliment, but merely mentions the incitement which her love of, and skill in, the mathematical sciences, had been to him. Her biographers do mention her literary acquirements generally, so that Vieta is borne out in the main fact; we should now wish, that instead of informing us how much horse-flesh *per diem* she was obliged to live upon at the siege of Rochelle, the same biographers had been a little more particular about the nature and extent of those scientific tastes to which Vieta alludes. But at any rate the latter is one more man of great note cleared from the stain of slavish dedication: more than he said might have been palliated (even had it been less true than it appears to be), towards the saviour of his life. The work of his great disciple, Harriot, was posthumous, and bears, in the title-page only, an inscrip-

tion to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, to whose patronage the author was long indebted for an asylum.

We now come to Tycho Brahé, himself a nobleman. His volume of epistles is dedicated to Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, son of the Landgrave William, who was a distinguished astronomical observer. The writer dwells upon the long intercourse he had enjoyed with the father, speaks to the son as to one well versed in astronomical pursuits, and recommends his father's example to his consideration.

We may here digress, to mention the counter-dedications which most works of this period contained: namely, addresses to the author, in prose or verse, from the pens of his friends. The more absurd a work, the more sure was it to contain a parcel of contributions of this kind; but the best efforts of the best heads were not without them. Napier's work, for instance, contains the following, among others, which is a fair specimen of the trash, and has some relation to what we shall next cite:

"Buchanane tibi Neperum adscisce sodalem,
Floreat et nostris Scotia nostra viris:
Nam velut ad summum culmen *perducta* Poësis
In te stat, nec quò progrediatur habet:
Sic etiam ad summum est *culmen* perducta Mathesis,
Inque hoc stat, nec quò progrediatur habet."

If Napier had had no better followers than Buchanan in the instance just given, doubtless the assertion about mathematics would have been realized: let us now cite Buchanan's own pupil. In the preface to Tycho Brahé's *Progymnasmata* there is but one copy of verses: James VI of Scotland, (afterwards I. of England, of pedantic memory), sent Tycho his *privilegium* or exclusive permission to publish the work in Scotland, and accompanied it by verses written with his own royal pen, all out of his own royal head. These poor Tycho (himself an elegant writer of verses) was obliged to publish:—

"Æthereis bis quinque globis, quæis machina mundi
Vertitur, ut celso est crustatus fornice Olympus
Ignibus, et pictus fulgentibus undique lychnis:
Pellucet vitreis domibus, vastisque Planetæ
Orbibus: ut geminant cursus vi et sponte rotati:
Ut miti aut torvo adspectu longè ante futura
Præmonstrant, Regnisque Tonans quæ fata volutet.
His tellure cupis, quæ vis, quis motus et ordo
Cernere, sublimem deductumque Æthera terræ

Tychonis pandunt operæ, lege, disce, videbis
Mira, domi Mundum invenies, Cælumque libello."

"ALIUD.

"Quam temerè est ausus Phaëton, vel præstat Apollo,
Qui regit ignivomos Æthere anhelus Equos
Plus Tycho ; cuncta astra regis : tibi cedit Apollo,
Charus et Uraniæ es hospes, alumnus, amor."

We now come to Galileo. His dialogues on the system of the world are dedicated to the grand duke of Tuscany, in a manner the simple elegance and truth of which add lustre to the writer. After speaking of the intellect as being that which distinguishes one man from another, (without any allusion to the accidents of birth) and assigning the study of the universe a high place among the objects of intellect, he states that the dialogues, being conversant about the writings of Ptolemy and Copernicus, the two greatest of astronomers, could not without ill manners be dedicated to any other than the duke, who was *to him* the greatest of men, as having given him the means and leisure to pursue such inquiries, and being therefore entitled to be considered as the author of any good they might contain.

We shall now take a glorious contrast, being the dedication of Thomas Salusbury, Esq., the translator of Galileo, (1661,) "to the noble and most perfectly accomplished Sir John Denham,* Knight of the most noble order of the Bath, and Surveyor General of His Majestie's Works," &c. It stands just before Galileo's dedication to his own prince: and the translator must have been just the grub he was, not to see, by the contrast, what a grub he was. We shall give it entire: and not being able to spare large print, the reader must imagine it set out in letters of six to the inch, as in the original.

"Sir—I Humbly begge your Pardon for bringing this Book under your Protection. Were it a Work of my own, or I any thing but the translatour, I should master my Thoughts to a meaner Dedication ; But being a Collection of some of the greatest Masters in the World, and never made English till now, I conceived I might sooner procure their Welcome to a person so eminent for Noble Candor, as well as for all those Intellectual Excellencies wherewith Your Rich Soul is known to be furnished. I resolved to be as kind to this Book as I could, and seriously considering which way to effect it, I at last concluded to prefix Your Name, whom His Majesty and all His Subjects (who have a higher Sense and Judgment of Excellent Parts) know best able to defend

* The noted poet of that name.

my Imperfections. And yet I confess there's one thing makes against me, which is your eminent Integrity and great Affection to Truth, whereby my Lapses in a Work of this Nature might justly despair of Shelter, but that the Excellency of Your Native Candor strives for Predominancy over all Your great Abilities. For 'tis all-most impossible to think what Your Matchless Wit is not able to Conquer, would Your known Modesty but give leave : therefore *Galileus*, *Kepler*, and these other Worthies in Learning are now brought before you in English Habit, having changed their Latine, Italian, and French, whereby they were almost Strangers to our Nation, unless to such as You, who so perfectly master the Originals. I know you have so much and great imployment for His Majesty, and his good Subjects that I shall not robb you of another Minutes loss ; besides the liberty of subscribing my Self ; Sir, Your Honours Most Humble and Most obedient Servant Thomas Salusbury."

This is an excellent specimen of the real grandiloquent dedication of the period ; nothing is worthy to approach Sir J. Denham, except Galileo, &c. ; *after much consideration*, the kindest thing that could be done for a book was to procure it the notice of that distinguished man's rich soul's intellectual excellencies. Here, however, the dedicator was unskilful, and we hope he lost something for his awkwardness : he ought to have seen *instantaneously* what was the kindest thing he could do for his book. There is also another defect in the preceding : the abjuration of flattery is omitted. A person intending to write in the above strain ought to have begun (as most did) by saying that the sin of adulation, which was the prevailing fault of such addresses, was so foreign to his character, and so hateful to his principles, that, though he feared the terms in which it was impossible to avoid addressing his high-souled, or rich-souled, or something-souled patron, would appear flattery to those who did not know him, yet nothing should induce him to have recourse to any such base practice, &c. We do not intend to present any further specimens of adulatory dedication, but shall go on to observe that Wallis, Descartes, Huyghens, &c., might each separately be shown to have escaped blameless as to the point in question ; but it is not worth while to exhibit the proofs. The *Principia* of Newton was simply inscribed to the Royal Society.

We shall consider two more dedicators, who will bring down the series to our own time : they are D'Alembert and La Place. The former was truly a man of noble sentiments, consistently carried into practice, in every matter relating to

his commerce with the great world. A base-born foundling, abandoned by his parents, the only matter between him and our subject to which the smallest objection could be taken, is that cited at the beginning of our article, which amounts to this, that, in the private thoughts of his own closet, and upon a paper which, if it were ever meant to appear at all, was to have been published after his death, he seems to have given an undue weight to royal attentions. But he took care to conquer this feeling; and even in his long correspondence with Frederic of Prussia, he never gave more than he got. There was more, no doubt, of compliment to the great general by the philosopher, and to the great philosopher by the general, than reads well when it is all put together: but there is every reason to suppose it was sincere on both sides.

In his *Essai sur les gens de lettres et les grands*, D'Alembert has given a view of the state of French literature, and of the servility which was displayed by its cultivators. To hang on to men in power, and to desert them with the power, was at one time the characteristic of the French writer: and enough of such a spirit remained in D'Alembert's day to give him ample materials for his treatise. The French, it is true, did not flatter so grossly, that is, not in such straightforward terms, as the baser sort among the English and Germans; they were as adroit in this use of language as in most others, but nothing can save them from the charge of topping the part of flatterers just as much as the lords before whom they bowed did that of feudal superiors. D'Alembert himself dedicated to Frederic of Prussia, to the Marquis Lomellini, a Genoese envoy, and to his friends the ministers D'Argenson* after their disgrace. In one of these last, speaking of the work (on Dynamics) he says that he has done his best to render the book worthy of posterity, that they may have the only testimony he can give of his attachment and gratitude. And he then goes on to say: "De toutes les vérités contenues dans cet ouvrage, la plus précieuse pour moi est l'expression d'un sentiment si noble et si juste." Had the Count D'Argenson been then in power, this would have been a strong sentiment, and a vile flattery. The work contained the celebrated principle which goes by D'Alembert's name—the foundation of all

* D'Argenson, who was minister in the time of Law's scheme, left two sons (marquis and count), both of whom were in power, and out of it, in the time of D'Alembert, who dedicated his work on fluids to the marquis, and the second edition of his Dynamics to the count, in each case after the deposition of the party addressed.

sound application of mathematics to complicated questions of motion. To have said that he valued the feelings of gratitude, &c. more than any truth in his book, if the party addressed had been able to do still more for him, would probably have been considered as a new retainer. D'Alembert would not have said such a thing to Frederic: he never hints that he valued the friendship of that monarch more than so much as one of the less useful propositions of Euclid. But here the case was different, and he was right in declaring that disinterested gratitude was worth scientific truth, and perhaps he may have meant to hint to his literary compatriots, who, by his own account, were not famous for remembering the previous benefits of those who had nothing more to give, that such a frame of mind was, as times went, in reality a more remarkable thing than philosophical talent, and a greater distinction between its possessor and the rest of the world.

Most unluckily for himself, La Place must needs copy D'Alembert's words, in doing which he shared the fate of the monkey who got hold of his master's razor, and cut his throat instead of his beard, because he forgot to observe which way the razor was held. In 1802, the fame of the *Citoyen premier Consul* having risen to the dedication point, the third volume of the *Mécanique Céleste* was dedicated to Buonaparte. La Place hopes that his work will also be a durable monument of the gratitude which the patronage of the government inspires in those who cultivate the sciences. So far he follows D'Alembert pretty clearly; he goes on to copy his very expressions: "De toutes les vérités qu'il renferme, l'expression de ce sentiment sera toujours pour moi la plus précieuse." D'Alembert valued more than *kk plus b* (his correspondent Frederic's phrase for the mathematics), the feeling that posterity would know that he delighted to acknowledge to a fallen minister how little political misfortune had changed his own sentiments. La Place, who perhaps judged it impossible that D'Alembert could write thus to anything but existing power, thought that the words of his old friend and patron were vastly neat for the end of a dedication, and would do particularly well as applied to his own new one. If this were all, still he would cut but a poor figure, considering the difference between the two cases. But we know what we are, we know not what we may be: D'Alembert spoke to a fallen patron, and was pleased with the consciousness that he felt no temptation to forget his benefactor; La Place, with his *sera toujours*

(D'Alembert only used the present tense), answered for the future. At last, the allies succeeded in overturning his imperial patron, and confining him at St. Helena. La Place did not live to publish the second edition of the *Mécanique Céleste*, but he had previously dedicated his *Théorie des Probabilités* to the emperor, and he *did* live to publish another edition of that work—with the dedication omitted. So much for *toujours*, which meant *tous les jours de votre prospérité*.

In more ancient times, as already observed, dedications are all that we have left from which to form any idea of the manner in which learned men behaved to their political superiors. In our own day, we must look at the manner in which scientific bodies comport themselves. There is no longer the dependence of man upon man, and the humble dedication of one individual to another; and we have only to see how class behaves to class. If the inquiry could be made, there would probably be found nothing to distinguish the manner of the philosopher towards the peer from that of any other person without a coronet of his own; and the same comparative good taste which has cut down the flattering address into a simple inscription at most, has sobered the behaviour of both parties to each other. But there still exists, among philosophers, a strong portion of that respect for rank which characterises the whole of our nation; not the mere exhibition of the feeling that difference of station is necessary to the support of our institutions, but the avowal that want of scientific qualifications may be more than overbalanced by the accident of birth.

The most common circumstances connected with an illustrious person are matters of interest to the English public. At his coronation, George IV eat some soup at his dinner,—“The carvers proceeded to help his majesty to some soup, of which his majesty tasted,” said the papers. When the Queen lately embarked at Woolwich for Scotland, she kissed her uncle, the Duke of Cambridge, on his taking leave of her: down it goes, and is sent through all the country with the speed of lightning. But if the words or actions should contain anything like an admission that the rest of the human race are not mere hewers of wood, it is given with notes of admiration, expressed or implied. If the city of London approach the throne with declarations of gratitude to God and congratulation to the Queen, that a malicious attempt upon her life has not succeeded, and if they receive just the amount of acknowledgment which any lady ought to give

(and with perhaps twenty other addresses waiting, it would be impossible to give more), it is a most "gracious answer," and the newspapers make a shout at her majesty's affability. The Duke of Sussex, when first appearing at the Royal Society in the character of president, actually took coffee and "talked familiarly" with the fellows. Such being our state of things, it can hardly be wondered at if men of science do not, any more than the rest of the world, rate the persons of men of rank according to their merits.

The Royal Society is the focus of aristocratic science, and scientific aristocracy. This distinction it owes to its antiquity and celebrity. No better notion can be given of the connexion between the two subjects of this article, than by a review of the history of this society during the last three quarters of a century. This society, like all others of the kind, does not live merely by the labours of those who cultivate science, but also by the pecuniary contributions of those who do not, but are willing to help in its promotion, and to buy a title which confers upon them at least the character of admirers and patrons of it. No better mode exists of procuring money for the laudable objects of any society; and, all things balanced, it may be a question whether aid from the government would better secure the attainment of these objects, independently of miscellaneous support. Nothing ever did happen, as far as we can see, which would not have been more likely to have happened in a select institute of real working men, applying funds given by the public.

Having no personal acquaintance with the Royal Society, we are of course attached to no party in it; and we gather our information either from report so commonly current among better informed persons, that it is impossible to be ignorant either of the rumour or its frequency, or else from the printed documents of the society and the accounts of the periodical press. For the society itself, with the following reservation and explanation, we profess respect.

A scientific body, or any other, is either a public body, with public responsibilities, or an association of private persons. In the first case, its conduct must be judged in the same manner as that of the Government, the House of Commons, or any other. Any critic may consider misconduct as a sort of offence against himself; and, if his allegations and his inferences be correct, may make himself the organ of all who think justly. And again, on such a supposition, there are sins of omission as well as of commission: it must be

inquired whether they have done all they ought to have done, and it is not enough that there is, upon the whole, a balance in their favour. But, on the other hand, if they are to be considered as an association of private gentlemen, the point of view must be very much altered. They are now, as regards the public, precisely in the situation of one of the club houses. If they do any good, it is so much due to them; if they do any positive harm, it is so much to be subtracted: but a refusal to do any particular good, or to prevent any particular harm, can be no ground of charge, as they have no public duties.

If the Royal Society be a public body, it is our opinion that, on the whole, it has not done its duties. From the time when Newton took the chair, down to the present, much might be brought forward in proof of private interests and feelings having prevailed over its conduct, to the diminution of its utility. There has been partizanship where there should have been impartial judgment; acquiescence where there should have been resistance; lukewarmness where there should have been activity; and neglect where there should have been inquiry. Not more of each than was exhibited by the several governments of the country during the existence of the society: but it would be an odd defence of successive generations of scientific men, to say that they were no worse, or even something better, than Treasuries, Admiralties, and other political boards; and would be enough to justify the retort, that such science was not entitled to any higher consideration than a mere mechanical trade,—anything about liberality or dignity in anywise notwithstanding. But if the society be a private body, and if we must simply balance the good which has resulted from it against the harm, we cannot see how it is possible to deny that the former has most enormously preponderated: to such an extent, that (looking upon the whole as the effort of irresponsible individuals to supply the place of a government which cared nothing for the promotion of philosophy) their success has been wonderful.

Now, which is the Royal Society,—a public body, or a private one? If we were to judge by mere externals,—charter, mace, apartments in a public office, &c. &c.; or else by the general impression, particularly of those who guide the public press,—we might suppose it to be a public body. But when we remember, that all its funds are derived from private contribution or bequest; that most of its officers are without salary; that, of the few who have a trifling salary, not

one receives a farthing except from their private funds, and that, even when the services of the body are desired by the government, no remuneration is asked or expected, we certainly think the society has a fair right, as far as our present subject is concerned, to the immunities of a private corporation. We do not mean that they are not to be brought to the bar of public opinion, for there they must appear when called upon; but we do mean, that they need not plead unless they please, nor care about the sentence of contumacy. If we consider them, then, in the private light above-mentioned, and look at their balance-sheet of long and useful service—remembering that their active existence almost began with forcing the *Principia* from the reluctant hands of Newton, and securing its execution and publication perhaps fifty years before it would otherwise have appeared—that their organization kept together the scattered race of philosophers, and mainly contributed to that extension of activity which has led to the formation of all the other societies, and of the British Association—it will appear, that in spite of the exhibitions of weakness, some of which our plan requires us to note, the Royal Society is entitled to the respect of the country.

The presidency of Sir John Pringle was brought to an end in a manner, about which nothing but whispers are current to this day. It is said that the controversy which took place among the fellows, as to the superiority of knobs or points for the extremities of electric conductors, was the cause of such uneasiness to him as to induce him to resign his post; Dr. Hutton (*Dictionary*, art. Pringle), hints at some private circumstances which would most probably at some future time be laid before the public. Dr. Kippis, on the other hand, who was intimately acquainted with Pringle, declares that he never heard from the latter any hint of his having resigned on such grounds. Nevertheless, at the time, it was currently said that the king (George III) had taken part in the question, in favour of *knobs*: swayed thereto, as was supposed, by antipathy to Franklin, who was for the *points*. Old persons yet remember that the story which was whispered about was, that a dialogue of this sort had taken place:—*Geo. III.* "I hope, Sir John, you don't intend to let those rascally Americans beat us on this question." *Pres. R. S.* "Please your majesty, I can't alter the laws of nature." *Geo. III.* "Then, Sir John, you'd better resign." This is, no doubt, the dramatization, by some wit, of what actually took place: we

think there is no reason to doubt that royal partizanship, expressed or implied, was the immediate cause of the president's resignation; in conjunction, it may be, with declining health. It rarely occurs that a royal patron interests himself in the actual detail of a scientific dispute; nor do we think there is much to be feared on this head, unless it were to happen that such an one, whether the wearer of the crown or a near relative, were to fancy himself, or really to be, able to take a part in the discussion. In such a case, it needs no great boldness to say, that the deferential feeling would sway many, even of those who thought themselves free from it, to an extent which would be prejudicial to philosophical truth, if the illustrious advocate happened to be on the wrong side.

If it were really true that the Royal Society suffered its president to be displaced on account of a difference of opinion, they suffered severely for it in the infliction of Sir Joseph Banks as a successor, and the consequences of his regime. This gentleman added to ancestry and wealth a devoted attachment to natural history, and all the *éclat* arising from his having been the companion and fellow sailor of Cook. He must have been a man eminently possessed of the talent of making himself agreeable to those who could be his friends, whether because their eminence made it impossible for him to display his peculiarities to them, or because they could contrive to submit to that display. His defects were, that he set out with a contempt of the exact sciences, which he knew little or nothing of, such as totally unfitted him to preside over the society which was to keep up the Newtonian discoveries in England; and that he possessed by nature a love of power which rendered him a very unsafe president for any society at all, but particularly for one with so monarchical a constitution as the Royal Society. For forty-two years, the period of his presidentship, the mathematical sciences, which wanted stimulus at his accession, met with little or no encouragement: and those habits of conduct were formed which led to the subsequent controversy about the *decline of science*.

The election of fellows,—such was the influence which he acquired,—fell almost entirely into his hands: and in so open a manner was his determination to secure his own power shown, that even those who were requested by himself to add their names to the list, were told that it would be *expected* that they should *support the president*. We had it from the mouths of two persons, both known to the scientific world,

and who never were fellows of the Royal Society, that their disinclination arose from the proposition having been made to them in the above terms, expressed in one case and known to be implied in the other.

The new Societies, such as the Geological, Astronomical, &c. which rose out of the Royal Society during this period of decadence, were opposed with all the force which the president could muster. He did not scruple to declare, as indeed he probably believed, that they would ruin the Royal Society: a satire on his own management, the force of which he did not perceive. The good understanding which has prevailed of late years between the offspring and their common parent, is in itself a strong presumption that the feeling which was arrayed against them at their birth was the personal feeling of the president of the Royal Society; but we believe the fact to be so notorious* as to render anything like presumption unnecessary. The good understanding to which we have just alluded is but one among many proofs of the existence of a comparatively healthy state in the Royal Society; and still more so is its cordial agreement with the British Association. And after all (the influence of one over-grown member out of the question), it is impossible that the Royal Society should be in a state of permanent disunion with any of the other societies, unless its fellows could contrive to quarrel with themselves. For the old society contains so large a proportion of the scientific knowledge of the country among its members, that there never was, nor could be, formed any other society for the promotion of a specific branch of science, at all deserving of respect from a large number of names connected with that branch, unless it had a tolerable contingent of members writing F.R.S. after their names.

But all the details of the system pursued by Sir Joseph Banks, as hitherto mentioned, seem to have little to do with our subject: for this president, though a man of family and wealth, was also a man of science; or, at least, was so considered, though we believe he did next to nothing after he was called to the chair. We shall now go on to show that the element of rank, as it existed in the Royal Society, was the means of placing him in the position to do mischief: we mean that it was by help of persons elected for their station,

* Mr. Babbage asserts that Sir J. Banks stated *to himself*, that he would not be recommended to a certain scientific office under *government*, because he had taken a prominent part in the formation of the Astronomical Society. (*Decline of Science*, p. 150.)

wealth, or power, that he obtained the support which established his authority. In 1784, six years after the commencement of his long presidency, he took a dislike to Dr. Hutton (we give the summary which expresses our own opinion of the case, derived from the various accounts which were published), asserting among other things that he failed in personal respect to himself, but making it his ground of procedure at the council, that Dr. Hutton was negligent in the duties of his office of foreign secretary to the society. Without calling upon the person charged for any explanation, a resolution was passed at the council, that it was inexpedient the foreign secretary (whose office was nearly a sinecure) should reside so far from London as Woolwich: a resolution which of course brought Dr. Hutton's resignation. The matter was taken up by the society, and some warm discussions ensued, the principal supporters of Sir Joseph Banks being a Mr. Anguish, accountant-general, the Hon. Henry Cavendish (the celebrated chemist), Lord Mulgrave, &c.: those of Dr. Hutton being Maseres, Horsley, Maskelyne, Maty the secretary, &c. In the course of the debates, the domineering character of the president was repeatedly alluded to, and proved by curious instances. Various fellows deposed to their having been requested by the president to blackball candidates for admission who were obnoxious to him; it was shown that he had called the secretaries *his assessors*; that he had, on one of them refusing to blackball at his desire (a second offence), addressed him thus:—"You'll please to observe that this is the second time that you have voted contrary to my desire,—perhaps, sir, this may be a business for the council." Dr. Hutton made a written defence, which procured him, even against the president, the thanks of the society for his services, and a declaration that he had fully justified himself. But all attempts at checking the career of the president by a proper expression of opinion were defeated by large majorities, composed of the miscellaneous members of the society: and the yoke was quietly borne till the year 1820, in which the president died. According to Dr. Hutton's account, Sir Joseph Banks, thirty years after the preceding dispute, interfered to prevent the trustees of the British Museum from purchasing his library, and thus one of the finest collections of old mathematical works that had ever been made, was dispersed.

Of all the stories connected with this presidentship which are so well remembered by contemporaries, very few have found their way into print. It is but now and then that

there is any inducement to remember them: nevertheless, if the plain truth be not told, something more than truth will become tradition, as may have been the case in the story of George III and Sir John Pringle. During the long period of which we have spoken, there was, however, what might appear a special providence to prevent the philosophical transactions from appearing to 'deteriorate entirely in the great pursuits which Newton and his contemporaries had begun. The papers of William Herschel commenced their appearance about two years after the installation of Sir Joseph Banks, and ceased at about the same period before his death. We do not mean to say that there were not valuable, and even splendid, communications made to the society in the time: but there was a peculiar brilliancy, both in the eyes of men of science and in those of the world at large, in the successes of Herschel, which made them as fit to hide the decline of a society, as their solid merit to command the admiration of those who were to follow them out.

We speak of the *decline* of the Royal Society, and we are perfectly satisfied both as to the fact and the reason for it—namely, permission of abuses through deference to authority. On the death of Sir Joseph Banks, and the accession of Davy to the chair (after a short interval, during which it was filled by Wollaston), the feeling that there was a decline gained considerable ground, and the question was brought under discussion in 1830 (during the presidency of Davies Gilbert), by Mr. Babbage's well-known "*Reflections on the Decline of Science in England*," and Mr. (Sir John) Herschel's remarks on the subject, in a note appended to his treatise on Sound, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. The latter was little more than allusion, but it told extremely during the subsequent discussions, as anything from the same quarter must have done. The former, also, from the name of its author, was sure to excite a feeling of amazement in the public, and a fiery discussion among the philosophers. The first remark, which would strike a reader of it, is, that the fact of the *decline of science* was almost assumed, while the proof of the *abuses of the Royal Society* occupied much the greater part of the whole. It is, or rather was (for the new societies are beginning to work a change), the habit of those who wrote F.R.S. after their names, to consider science as a sort of synonyme for the Royal Society, and *vice versa*—*English science* at least. To be a fellow of this body was a passport to the title of a philosopher, though then, as now, an examination of the

collective mass of fellows in the first book of Euclid would show, that probably a majority was ignorant of the first steps in exact science. The society, moreover, considered the work as an attack upon itself: and, in truth, the account of the abuses which it brought forward was such as ought to have been answered. But the charges stated were such as could not be answered except by denial, and we are not aware that denial was attempted. The secretary indeed replied to some assertions relative to the minutes of a particular meeting, and the proper way of taking rough minutes became a point at issue: a fellow of the society replied to some remarks on his observations, and the effect of error in the divisions of a level was made the turning-point of another discussion; but these were not the main points. It was *not* explained how it happened that more than £2,000 had been expended in engraving plates to the papers of a naturalist, who was very frequently on the council; or how it was that more had been paid to a bookseller *for copies taken*, and to *induce* him to print a work, than would have paid for the printing of all the copies; or how it was that the costly Greenwich observations were sold to make Bristol board in Thames-street, while fellows applied for them in vain at Somerset-house. No attempt was made to answer these things; they were not even denied: while, if the reports in the public papers, as to what passed at the council of the Royal Society, be correct, the asserter of them was saved from expulsion by the remembrance of his services to science: as if such a step, without refutation, would not have been the severest censure they could have passed upon themselves. There was, perhaps, in one point, some generosity about their proceedings; they might have wished to spare the dead: it is certain that they could hardly have defended themselves without laying the blame upon the system of the departed president, to which they had weakly and culpably submitted, in deference to its long establishment. Mr. Babbage, too, may fairly be censured for having thrown the whole charge of mismanagement among the living: a slight admission in the preface, that "the misgovernment of the society has not been wholly the result of even the present race," is all that is said about the misconduct of past presidencies. Of all false proverbs, the most false is *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, unless the adjective relate to feeling, not to fact: it would be better to strike out its two last words than to interpret it in the common way, and thus to make biography a mere tombstone. But the worst use of the proverb is

when it is employed in the settlement of questions in which the conduct of the dead is mixed up with that of the living : every palliation of the former is then the same amount of injustice to the latter, of which, though much may be said for the motive, more may be urged against the consequences, of the practice.

As we are ourselves particularly obnoxious to the charge of repeating matters concerning the departed, which are usually circulated in conversation only, we shall enlarge a little more on this point. How often do we see in biography, when the subject of it has been dead some time, such a sentence as the following—"It was said at the time that he . . . and this is rendered highly probable, by a fact mentioned by . . . who states . . ." Thus, a rumour and a circumstance may set an injurious story going for centuries, when, if the substance of the report had been stated within a few years of the death of the person whom it concerns, twenty other circumstances might perhaps have been mentioned, which would have rendered the imputation incredible. Perhaps, even yet, this public statement of these matters, in which Sir Joseph Banks was concerned, may bring out proof, by publication of letters or otherwise, that rumour has over-stated them. It ought to be particularly observed, that the practice of silence can be favourable only to those who are without defence ; these may possibly escape with only a suspicion, or a balance of probabilities, upon the report and the circumstance : but those whose admirers could have found a sufficient answer, must suffer for the delicacy with which their more culpable neighbours are treated.

Mr. Babbage's work carried the greater part of the press with it, and it certainly appeared, that, decline or no decline, the philosophical world found that there was no party to sympathize with the abuses of their department : an honourable proof that their philosophy was at least neither Whig nor Tory. The journals and other periodicals mostly shirked the science question, and fell upon the society. The only answer which Mr. Babbage received, that was at all to the purpose, relative to the state of science and scientific men in England and elsewhere, was from a foreigner, the late professor Moll, of Utrecht, in a pamphlet transmitted to Mr. Faraday for publication in England. Professor Moll spoke English better than many of our countrymen who have resided abroad for a few years, and was thoroughly acquainted with our country and its scientific institutions. He addressed

himself to two points: first, to show that science had not declined in England; secondly, that the emoluments bestowed upon science *only* were not greater than in England—nor so great. In the first point he did not succeed: in the second he did.

No one doubted, when Mr. Babbage wrote, that, in the application of science to the arts, we excelled our neighbours in nine cases out of ten. No one, either, doubted that the cultivation of theoretical science, particularly in its mathematical branches, had retrograded, or perhaps had not advanced, at a certain time previous to the appearance of the work; and that the consequence was, that in 1830, we were not on a level with some of the continental kingdoms in the production of *theoretical discovery*. But whether the retrogradation had ceased, and the advance begun, or whether the former was still continuing, was a question admitting of wide difference of opinion. Speaking to Mr. Babbage himself, we should have told him, that we agreed with him as to the amount of science, but denied that its *differential coefficient*, relatively to the time, was, as he asserted, negative; to others, that we believed, that, though behind our neighbours, we were on the road to overtake them. Professor Moll attempted a comparison of our best names, and their number, with those of France; on which it is only necessary to say, that he omitted those who had recently died in France, and retained them in England. But when he came to the mode of treatment of philosophers, here and abroad, he showed sufficiently what was indeed not very difficult to show, that much of the emolument bestowed on continental *savans* is held at the pleasure of the government, which takes out in submission what it advances in cash. We do not say, that it exacts servility, but silence and obedience, or, previously to the use of the gift of speech, revision by the minister. "What would Mr. Herschel or Mr. Babbage say," asks professor Moll, "if the speeches made from the chair, on the delivery of the king's or Copley medals, were to be submitted to the approbation of the home-secretary? What would Mr. Babbage's feelings be, if no one could be admitted in the Royal Society, unless his choice was approved by the court;—if members might be ejected because their political opinions were objected to;—or if a man like Chateaubriand was refused admission because he scorned publicly to make the apology of one whom he considered both as a regicide and a fratricide." We will add one more instance. We have seen

what Laplace found it necessary to do with his dedication when the emperor was emperor no longer: could he have remodelled that dedication, and addressing it to General Buonaparte at St. Helena, have assured his former benefactor that, under whatever name political changes might render it necessary to approach him, the author of the *Theory of Probabilities* never could forget the obligations under which he lay to the man who had furnished him with the means of writing that work? Who doubts that the immediate loss of all his prospects would have been the consequence of such a piece of *ingratitude for favours to come* against the newly established government?

To return to *science and rank* in this country. Was it, or was it not, a feeling that some damage had been sustained by the exposures, which made the Royal Society seek the splendour to be derived from a royal president? or was it mainly the attempt of fellows who cared nothing for science, and much for rank? We believe the latter, seeing that, in the first instance, almost all the scientific men were against the change. The excitement caused by Mr. Babbage's work was not yet calmed, when an abundance of feelers, of *it-is-currently-reported-s*, of *we-are-authorized-to-state-s*, appeared in the periodicals. After some time the wonder chipped the shell, and it was formally announced, that his royal highness the duke of Sussex was a candidate for the chair, while sixty fellows, or thereabouts, including in their number almost all of great scientific eminence, declared their intention of supporting Mr. (Sir John) Herschel, who was no candidate at all, except as known to be ready to serve if elected. We mention this, because reflections were cast, in some of the public papers, upon the nominee of science, for opposing the son of the monarch to whom his father was so much indebted. This was really ludicrous: if his royal highness had been next in succession to the crown, and Sir John Herschel had headed a rebellion, having for its object an alteration of the Act of Settlement, he would have been justly chargeable: but, supposing he had assumed himself to be a fitter man than the duke to be president of the Royal Society, and had said so, he would no more have been obnoxious to the imputation of ingratitude, than if he had simply said, that he was a man of science, and the prince was not. Nothing could be a clearer contest between principles, wholly unimportant as to individuals, and divested of all opposition between them. The result is well known: the influence of the court, and the

free use of the king's name, obtained for the duke of Sussex a majority of *eight* (119 to 111), showing, that the aristocratic principle was not so strong as had been imagined. The *Court Journal* had said, a few days before, "the friends of astronomy and mathematics, who are anxious to raise one of their number to the chair of the society, forget that they are as 30 to 640 in that society, and that any attempt to represent the general interests of science, through the elevation of a young man who has written some clever papers on astronomical and mathematical subjects, to the highest office of a society which contains ten bishops, seventy-four clergymen, sixty-three peers of the realm, a large proportion of superior officers of the army and navy, sixty-three professors of law, one hundred medical men, including those of the first talent, and a whole host of chemists, naturalists, and botanists besides, must prove unsuccessful." Mathematics and astronomy were luckily nominative cases, or where would they have come in this description of the society over which Newton once presided!

The arguments on the side of the scientific party were obvious enough: on the other part it was stated, that as no man could be learned in all sciences, the election of the votary of one of them would lead to his showing undue preference to his own pursuit. This argument, which it was not seen was in favour of *ignorance*, not of *rank*, (unless it was intended to compliment the latter by assuming that it implied the former), was followed by another, namely that a person of high station could serve the purposes of science by his influence with the government, and make the society respectable in the eyes of foreigners by his reception of men of science from abroad. The personal qualifications of the royal candidate were also insisted on. There was something of truth in the first of these arguments, and a great deal of fallacy. True as it may be that the cultivator of one science alone is biassed, it is as just as true that a royal or noble president may allow his ear to be gained by the votary of one science. Again, the argument itself is not of so much validity against the choice of a scientific president, as against the constitution of a society in which the influence of the president outweighs that of the council. With regard to the inducement, that foreigners of eminence would be suitably received by a president of great state and wealth, we admit, that, so far as it goes, it is sound: but we cannot agree that there is much in it.

It is a more pleasant thing to state the actual results of the presidentship of the duke of Sussex, than to dwell upon the nature of the support by which it was obtained, or the arguments produced in favour of the election. All the probabilities were against its turning out well: nevertheless, speaking from the impressions which we observed to prevail, and not knowing anything ourselves of the society, we believe it is impossible to deny, that there never was a period of ten years during which it was more respectable, or more respected, than that in which the duke was in the chair. His personal qualifications were such as rendered him on every point, except that of scientific knowledge, well fitted for the office: a man of literary tastes, good information, an excellent library, and long knowledge of the world, could not cut a very bad figure, even when presiding over debates to the subject of which he was often a stranger: add to this, good sense, habits of business acquired by knowledge of other societies, a disposition to ask advice, and knowledge of mankind to know where to look for it, and it will not appear strange that there should be but one opinion, and that a highly favourable one, of his royal highness as a president. On his resignation, after being offered to, and declined by, Sir John Herschel, the office was conferred upon its present holder, the marquis of Northampton, who had previously distinguished himself, among peers, by his disposition to promote scientific knowledge, at the meetings of the British Association and elsewhere.

If the Royal Society be wise, it will continue to choose a president of rank, with as much science as can be got; but not for the reasons commonly given. It is an advantage, no doubt, to have a president who can afford the fellows opportunities of meeting; but this arises from wealth, not rank, and was gained in the time of Sir Joseph Banks. In the first place, a really scientific man ought not to throw away his head upon the details of management: his energies should be reserved for greater things. If Sir John Herschel, on his return from the Cape of Good Hope, had accepted the offer of the chair, what would the reduction of his observations, and the arrangement of all his results, have done in the mean time? Could Newton have been president of the society while engaged on the *Principia*? He never did much after his acceptance of that office, and though his occupation at the Mint may have stood in the way, yet it is clear that he would have had more leisure to devote to the improvement of his

system, if he had not had the additional duties of the presidency. In the next place, the argument of the *Court Journal*, already quoted, may be placed in a point of view which will render it of some weight. The Royal Society is not a collection of men of science: the majority of its members are there, because F.R.S. is an old and respectable addition to the name of a person who wishes to be considered as attached to science, and possessing some qualification. There is influence about the title; every now and then it helps its possessor on in the world: it brings him into the circle of men of rank, to all appearance; that is, it puts his name in a list with tens of bishops, and scores of peers, and every now and then actually introduces him into their reverend and revered presence. With such a miscellaneous collection—brought together by many different motives unconnected with science; the advantage of which is that they pay their money for its promotion, and the disadvantage, that on any accidental turmoil they may take into their heads to go down to Somerset House and vote—there is more security for the peace in a president who has the qualifications which the majority respect, than in one who has those which they only profess to respect. Let people talk as they please, every man knows that in England, at the present writing, each knob on a baron's coronet would outweigh three sciences in public estimation. Now since the council of the society must always contain a large proportion of scientific men, it is clearly better that the unscientific mass should be dealt with in the council, by one or more representatives, whose opinion should overawe the rest, than in the general meetings of the body. Nothing is of so much importance to a scientific society as quiet; it is the very first essential of its useful existence: if it can be promoted, or if the chance of disturbance incident to all public bodies can be materially lessened, by so cheap a sacrifice as that of the presidency to the predominant feeling of an unscientific majority, we should always like to hear of a nobleman of respectable personal character being appointed to that office.

The Royal Society is aristocratic to the very bone; and values itself upon preserving usages of ancient state. The use of a big mace (the very one, it is said, that Cromwell christened *bauble*, when he sent the House of Commons about its business), is innocent enough: but the following practice, which existed, as we learn from the discussion of ten years ago, and we believe, still exists (as law, at least),

is either the remnant of an unpolished age, or a mark of arrogance which does little credit to a society professing philosophy. The visitors whom fellows desire to introduce, to assist, as the French say, at any particular meeting, are shown into an antechamber, and kept there until the president has taken the chair. The list of them is then read out to the meeting, and, consent being given to their admission, they walk in, and take their places on benches apart.

So very cautious is the Royal Society of the introduction of an improper person even for a single evening, that it will not trust its own fellows to introduce their personal friends without reserving a check. Nevertheless, this very society, at the date we speak of (and we believe the practice still continues) will proceed to the ballot for a peer within a week of his nomination, while the names of plebeian candidates must be suspended for many weeks in the meeting-room. Nobody supposes that the fellows of the Royal Society are ignorant that the peerage contains all sorts of men, from the very best to the very worst: how is it then, that the fellows of the Royal Society, who cannot be trusted to introduce a friend for a single evening, have it in their power, by the combination of a very few among them (for the ordinary meetings are but thinly attended) to fix upon the society, for the term of his natural life, a man with whom few men of real worth will condescend to associate? The inference that must be drawn, is, that in the Royal Society, either there is a reliance upon the good sense of the fellows as to peers, which does not exist as to commoners; or a feeling, that, if an objectionable peer were to be introduced, his character would, he being a peer, not be of so much consequence as the same in a commoner. This is certainly a compliment which is very generally paid to the aristocracy, but it is a very dubious one; and we wonder that it is not repudiated by the respectable of the class whom it is intended to honour.

But the greatest defect of the Royal Society as it now exists, is the mode of election of fellows. It is well known that every person who is recommended by two or three of the fellows, is tolerably sure of his election, if he be altogether unknown: but that if his name be known at all, it becomes a question. More than this, every candidate of any the least note, must condescend to ask his friends to go and insure his election, just as is done at a common club, where mere personal dislike is (and, considering the purposes of the associa-

tion, reasonably enough) considered sufficient ground for a black ball. If, which happens every now and then, particularly when a medical candidate is in question, there be a cabal against the candidate, if there be some professional or personal grudge to be remembered, the election, whatever his qualifications may be, must be carried by the mere circumstance of the attendance of his friends. Thus the balloting-box of *Newton's Society* becomes a recipient of the spites of those among its fellows, who do not remember the solemn obligation to which they have bound themselves at their admission: and is not, on such occasions, half so respectable as the humble implement which lies, or ought to lie, on the floor when tobacco is smoked in a room.

We have spoken much of the Royal Society, because, in talking of science and rank, it is obvious, that that society is the point of junction of the two things; we shall now proceed to a question which was much canvassed at the time of the discussion about the decline of science,—namely, the propriety of instituting an order of merit, to be conferred upon persons of distinguished scientific and literary fame. This was mixed up with another question; namely, the bestowal of more solid rewards, in the shape of pension or other pecuniary grant. As these are totally distinct things, it may be well to take them separately. It being notorious that researches which are not immediately applicable to commerce, and which do not therefore bring money, cannot be carried on except by men of independent fortune, or by others in such leisure as men have who work for their bread,—it is clear enough that pensions or grants, *properly bestowed*, would, in the case of the latter class, create that leisure and its consequences. It is well known that it has done so in the continental kingdoms of Europe. All those who believe that there are useful things which do not *pay* (and we are at present speaking to no others), must admit that even in a commercial point of view, it would be desirable that enough of the sort of leisure to which we have alluded should always be procured. The worst of it is that improvements in the theory of the sciences cannot be contracted for at so much a-year; the man who has advanced science in one lustrum cannot engage to do as much in the next: while, on the other hand, whatever is given under the name of reward for past services is extremely liable to abuse. Here lies the difficulty, and here it would lie if it were settled to-morrow, that any given sum should be devoted to providing men of science with the means of following

out their researches: who is to settle the distribution of the fund? Is it the minister?—He is unqualified. The men of science themselves?—Those whose opinions are best worth having would be the very class among whom the fund should find some of its recipients. The public voice?—It knows nothing, for instance, of an astronomer, except the length of his telescope,—and thinks more highly of the man who first sees a comet, than of the one who calculates its orbit.

With regard to an order of merit, the same difficulties exist in a magnified form. Let us consider what object is to be gained. Hitherto, these orders are either mere marks of favour, as in the case of the Garter, &c., or the reward of military, naval, or diplomatic service. In all these last cases they are presumed to announce distinguished service to the country; and let it be observed that they are given for services done *out of the country*, which never would remain long before the eye of the public, unless some visible memorial of them were erected; and this it is found most convenient to place upon the person of the well-doer, in the shape of a bit of riband with a cross at the end. There is something intelligible about this; eminence is gained by it: an officer who wears a star is one whose services can be recounted, and an answer given to those who ask what he has done. Again, in every such case there is a department in which these services are first known, and from which the recognition proceeds. The military man looks to the Horse-guards, the naval one to the Admiralty, the diplomatist to the Foreign Office and Treasury: a knightly distinction upon any one of these, indicates that his services have been approved by those of his own profession, who are competent to judge of them, and who (the usual corruptions of government excepted, which might creep into a scientific department as well as any other), cannot be supposed to have any particular bias for or against the individual. But let us now suppose an order instituted for the promotion of science or literature. It is intended either to make the wearer distinguished, or to indicate that he has already become distinguished. In either case, it must be given by those who can judge of that distinction, or it is worthless. Let us suppose that everything else remaining as it now is, the order is established, and the prime minister, a Peel or a Melbourne, a person of no lack of gentlemanly information but not versed in scientific matters, is to determine upon the manner of its distribution. Imagine that one of the persons to whom it was sent were to return it with an assertion,

bluntly or civilly conveyed, as the case might be, that, however much he might thank the donors for their good-will, he could not consent to admit himself honoured by a compliment of the kind from a cabinet whose scientific qualifications he was a much better judge of than they were of his. No doubt such an answer would be called very uncourtly, very vulgar, very unfashionable, and so forth; *but would it not be very true?*

But it would be said that a minister could and would have advisers. No doubt such might be the case, and these advisers must be either public or private. If the latter, there must be the advice of one or of several: if one person only were to be consulted, there would be jealousies without end; if several, the minister must be supposed to want no advice, for as all his advisers must needs be worthy of the order, he is supposed capable of taking, perhaps, the most difficult step without any advice at all. Nor could such counsel avail him: the public would not know in any way what sort of guarantee the new order ought to furnish, and the distinction would soon be looked upon as nothing but a mark of ministerial favour.

But suppose that a responsible adviser, of course a public one, were appointed: a Minister of Science and Literature. The consequence would be that knowledge would thrive as much as the Court of Chancery does from having a judge who is in or out according to the number of noses which are counted on the right or left hand of the Speaker. When Whigs are in, the Whigs would somehow turn out to be the real benefactors of science; when the Tories are in, the Tories. Had such a system existed in 1816, one political party would have been for fluxions, the other for the differential calculus; and we should have known the politics of a mathematician by his writing x or dx , and perhaps his religion also. But say that the adviser was inamovable, except by death or misdemeanor: the result would be that his influence would fluctuate with the administration. And if there were a board of advisers, scientific men of course, it would be much the same thing as giving it to the council of the Royal Society.

But let us suppose that the difficulty of choosing the first set being once got over, the future rule should be that the members of the order themselves should fill up the vacancies, or propose new appointments. Perhaps we may judge of what would arise in such a case, by observing the effect of the scientific honours which philosophers bestow upon one another. A great many medals have been given within the

last twenty years by the several societies. Those which are sent from abroad, or sent abroad, are really honours, and are unquestionably so considered: it is a decided mark of distinction when the work of a philosopher of one country becomes so well known in another, that his claim to honorary notice is freely admitted by persons who for the most part do not even know him by sight. But with regard to medals given by our own countrymen among themselves, we are much mistaken if they are considered as conferring any lasting reputation: they are soon forgotten, and no one ever seems to care whether the fact of his having obtained a medal is remembered or not. Now we might very well ask of those who wish that men eminent in science should carry some decoration upon their persons, why it is that philosophers never wear their medals? Is it because they are not state distinctions? The royal medals, which are awarded by the council of the Royal Society, are bought, paid for, and given, by the crown, which entrusts to the council of that Society the task of selecting proper persons to give them to. Is it because it is not the custom? That would be only saying that they are not worn because they are not worn. Why is it not the custom to wear them? Whatever the reason may be, we strongly suspect that it would operate equally against wearing an order. Some of the advocates of scientific distinctions go further than knighthood: they would have peerages, of course with grants of land or money to support the dignity. We approve of the amendment: if honours are to be conferred upon the votaries of science, it would be difficult to say why they should not be of the very first kind. Newton was certainly more useful to the country than the winner of a great battle, and there are more generals who can fight successfully than philosophers who can discover and apply a new principle. By all means, then, let those who would have such patronage from the state, stand out for the peerage, and disdain the knighthood. But in the meanwhile there is a remark or two to be made upon the subject. When the time shall arrive at which the public values knowledge as much as it does wealth, political importance, or military fame, *then* will those same distinctions attend the successful cultivators of the former, which are freely given to those who attain either of the three latter. But until such estimation is, come how it may, the appanage of scientific or literary worth, the demand for the honours of the state is useless, because premature. It is absurd to say, you ought to rate

science as high as anything, and you will some day ; therefore, in the mean time, let a certain number of philosophers be called to the upper house. The proper way to proceed, is to raise science in the estimation of the public,—we mean, to raise the public to a proper estimation of science : but whether the call for honours, made in our day, will tend to such a consummation, may, we think, be very much doubted. And, as we go on, let us observe, that the ease with which a sneer is made current against philosophy and its cultivators, as evidenced by the arguments of part of the periodical press on the decline-of-science discussion, is in some measure due to the scientific men themselves. They have never taken part as a body in any of the attempts to promote education, or in any other way to elevate the intellectual character of the community. Since the Royal Society was established, its members have never collectively expressed the smallest possible amount of sympathy with, or concern for, the progress of their countrymen generally in that knowledge which they appear to rate so high : and the more recent societies have followed the example. To those few among men of science, then, who uphold the doctrine of raising philosophers to the peerage, we should say ;—Go to your comrades, and first stir them up in the great work of spreading that knowledge which it is their main business to advance ; overcome their nonsense, show them that *it is* their business, as much as of any other class, and their interest, more than of any other class, that all the orders of society should be trained to the use of their minds ; make them, if their leisure do not admit of much actual exertion in that behalf, at least the unflinching advocates and avowed protectors of intellectual cultivation, so that those who are endeavouring to advance it may be strengthened by their support and influence. Do this, and when the time comes for the universal feeling to be that no man deserves better of his contemporaries, than he who has given the human race more power, whether over their own minds or the material universe, it will not seem ridiculous that the highest honours should be awarded to such a man.

But, after all, what would be the value of such a distinction to a never-dying name, without some provision for knocking off the title after the death of the owner ? To this day we are disgusted by the pertinacity with which persons not given to science persist in their *Sir Isaac Newton* : when will it be allowable to get quit of a nomenclature which, though connected with respectable associations when applied

to living men, becomes painfully ridiculous when attached to a name which has been in the mouths of the whole civilized world for more than a century? In the scientific world, titles disappear in a time which is inversely as the fame of the bearer; *Sir William Herschel*, *K. H.* is forgotten; that is, the italics fore and aft have disappeared, and plain William Herschel is left: Barrow and Wallis are unD.D.ed, Brounker is no Viscount, Bacon no Verulam, Boyle is now only the father of chemistry, his brotherhood to the Earl of Cork being forgotten. The only title remembered is that of Lord Napier, the reason probably being, that he was not a lord at all, unless in the sense in which every lord of a manor may be so styled. But this is all among the scientific world; out of it there is perpetuation of all manner of titles. People like to converse with a lord, though only a dead one, and in his works.

In fairness to the decline-of-science discussion, we ought to say, that the first promoter did not actually advocate either knighthood or nobility. Mr. Babbage says of an order of merit: "In all probability it would be filled up through the channels of patronage, and by mere jobbers in science": of peerages, that "until there existed some knowledge of science among the higher classes, and a sound state of public opinion relative to science, the execution of the plan could only be injurious." It is since that time, in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* for the most part, that the regrets of uncoroneted philosophy are heard.

The state of science with respect to the government may, at present, be described as follows: there seems to be no particular disposition to promote it, but no unwillingness to do so, when it can be done without trouble. If anything were to be proposed which would cost a minister a morning's thought, it would be asking for so much energy to be taken away from the evening's debate,—a thing of course not to be endured. But if a grant of money be applied for, in such a manner that there is an answer ready for the House of Commons when an enormity of a three-figure outlay for purposes of science comes on in the estimates, it would be unjust to all recent governments, whig or tory, not to say that no difficulty is placed in the way of getting it. The first scientific men in the country, acting in concert, and pledging themselves to the utility of any particular scheme, can now and then get perhaps as much as five hundred pounds; which, considering the state of things in the House, is as much as could be ex-

pected from the administration. With respect to the public at large, as far as they are to be judged of by the papers which profess to be its organs, it would be very difficult to know what is thought. We must take it in classes, each of which is to be judged, if at all, by some particular periodical. But it would be unsafe to draw any inferences in this manner. For instance: during the regency, George the Fourth instituted an order of knighthood for his Hanoverian dominions, the cross of which, appearing on the breast of an Hanoverian, ranks, we believe, with other crosses. But in England this unfortunate order was understood to be a provision for those who were not considered to be entitled to any of the others;—a cloth, as it were, laid in the back parlour for guests who were not dining-room company. Some time after the decline-of-science discussion, the reform administration, in the fervour of its career of amelioration, made a *coup d'état*, and gave the lowest class of this lowest order to half-a-dozen of the most illustrious names in English science. A very little while after the preceding event, the *John Bull*, a weekly newspaper which piqued itself (and may do so still, for aught we know), upon being the organ of the clergy, remarked that the Guelphic order *had not increased in dignity or value during the last year*. Are we to suppose, then, that the clergy in general looked upon the appointment of the men of science as a degradation to the illustrious confraternity of Hanoverian knights? We should think not: but this instance may be taken as one of many which serve to show that there is really no expression of opinion with respect to anything but politics. The whig government had done the deed; and the tory paper would have held the crown dishonoured, had Newton himself been admitted to the king's presence, if the door had been opened by a minister of the other side in politics.

If the respect of the middle classes would satisfy the philosophical world, they may be well assured that they have it: they must know that it is so, from their daily intercourse with society. But their dealings with the great are observed with some amusement, and, on the whole, they are not worse liked for exhibiting the tendency of all the rest of the world to worship political rank. No one is displeased at seeing his superiors in intellectual acquirement subject to his own foibles; and those who are ashamed in their own hearts, as thousands must be, of the manner in which they bow to mere title, without reference to the qualifications of the bearer, may,

and perhaps do, comfort themselves by remembering that a lord sits in the seat of Newton because he is a lord, and that knowledge itself, the thing they most venerate next after wealth, place, and rank, proclaims itself their fellow-worshipper.

After all, though we try to "come a kind of quiet laugh," as Mr. Weller said, at the sciences which are held up in such a lofty point of view at the inaugural addresses of the British Association, sinking their high pretensions in admitted inferiority to political rank, we should feel much less disposed to sneer, if *birth*, not *rank*, were the object of deference. If there be anything like intrinsic nobility anywhere, it is in long descent, and good descent: a large number of well-conducted ancestors may be a presumption that there is something in the blood tending to goodness;—at least it gives an inducement that way. But rank, mere rank! to hear it said, as we are told it has been said, from the chair of the Royal Society, that a peer—that is, a voter in the House of Lords—as such, does *honour to science* by enrolling himself among the fellows! Suppose it the grandson of one of those among Pitt's politicians,—ennobled for their truckling propensities—to whom the coronet, with perquisites, was—

"The tempting turnip's silver skin"

[Which] "Drew the base hog through thick and thin,"

the Royal Society, or any other, might justly advocate the doctrine, that the grandson should not be excluded, being otherwise eligible, for his ancestor's meanness; but to declare the coronet itself to be respectable, and an honour to science, independently of the way in which it was got, was an insult to common sense,—we wish we could add, to the English public. The same might just as well have been said of wealth, which, like rank, may be got by foul means; but this cannot be said of a long line of worthy ancestors.

We have heard enough of the rights of man, the rights of property, the rights of industry, the rights of the crown, and the rights of the church,—but the *rights of wealth* and the *rights of rank* are not phrases of our language. Why so? Because both wealth and rank know how to attain more than their rights, without any talking about the matter. Both of these trust to the *voluntary principle*. But if it were possible—and let us suppose it for a moment, however improbable—that both these great accidents of society were in course of being reduced to their proper importance, by the action

of honest sense upon men's minds, the last two phrases would soon make their appearance;—and we wish we could think that their naturalization would be a consequence of some sort of new meaning attached to a third, namely, the *duties of science*.

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- ART. VI.—1. *The Garden of the Soul*. Derby: 1842.
 2. *Catholic Hour; or, the Family Prayer-book*. Third Edition. 1841.
 3. *The Catholic's Manual of Private Devotion*. Third Edition. 1839.

WHILE preparing to lay before our reader such remarks as the publications before us suggest, a two-fold scene presents itself to our imagination.

On the one side, we seem to ourselves to behold a venerable sanctuary, be its country and character what it may; whether the dark and awful precincts of the holy house at Loreto; or the silver crypt in which St. Charles Borromeo lies enshrined; or one of our own ancient pilgrimages, the chapel of St. Cuthbert or St. Thomas, restored to its ancient beauty and splendour. Around the object of common veneration are scattered various suppliants; not marshalled into ranks by vergers' wands, but as greater earnestness or greater humility, as pious curiosity or desire of concealment prompts, nearer or more afar; some in the bright glow of burning tapers, or of sunbeams streaming through richly-stained windows; some half veiled in the mysterious shadows of clustered pillars or secluded nooks. There we see the Belgian matron, hooded and cloaked in her dark flowing drapery, a breathing, but motionless figure,—a living Van-Eyck; on another side we have the German peasant, with arms outstretched as though on a cross, in deep and earnest supplication; further back we find the Swiss pilgrim, leaning on his staff, as, rosary in hand, he kneels with hoary head and flowing beard bowed lowly down; and in front of all, and pressing on nearer to the shrine, the Italian, in the bright attire of the Abruzzi, kneeling as though reclining backwards, in the attitude of Canova's Magdalen, with her hands clasped upon her knees, and her glowing upturned countenance streaming with tears.

On the other side is another scene. The altar and its

appurtenances are finished in the best style of most approved upholstery; the tightly fitted carpet is well covered to secure its holiday freshness, the marbling and graining are unexceptionable in colour and in varnish. Here, too, are worshippers; the Parisian dame reclining on her tall chair *pridieu*, with her silver-mounted prayer-book, the English seat-holder surrounded by all the luxury of worsted-worked cushions and morocco-bound books of devotion.

It is far from our intention to make any invidious comparison between the actors in the two scenes: or even to insinuate that the second class may not be as devout and as fervent as the first. On the contrary, habit has so much influence on even our most sacred duties, that we believe that those first described would be as unable to pray, and be as cold in their supplications, were they placed amidst the soft accompaniments of the others' prayers, as these would be if dropped down alone and unsupported on the cold pavement of an old Gothic church. But somehow or other, the eye and the thought seem to find something more akin to the avowed purpose of both scenes, in the outward bearing and appearance of those who compose the first. If a painter desired to represent a fervent suppliant, he certainly would look on it for his models: if a poet wished to describe the prayerful out-pourings of an afflicted heart, he would make them be expressed in its outward forms: nay, if the preacher or moralist should seek to stir up his hearer or reader to a fitting observance of devotional duties, he would surely draw his imagery and illustrate his meaning from the same source. We, indeed, are not artists, nor poets; neither are we intending to deliver a homily upon such sacred topics. We are only poor critics, anxious not to blame but to correct; and therefore, in all that we have said, we have only wished to present our readers with what we conceive to be accurate types of two species of prayers, and two classes of prayer books, now in use amongst us—the ancient or liturgical and truly ecclesiastical, and the modern, multifarious, and unauthoritative. In the former are combined all the powerful and the beautiful, the deep and the sublime, the holy and the poetical. which minds and hearts gifted by heaven with little less than inspiration could mingle together. The spirit of celestial harmony pervades their words, and combines their phrases, and weaves them into sentences and strains of marvellous art. In them we admire a rich and mellow tone, an almost playful variety, now passing from the grave to the cheerful, as if by

a sudden burst, then descending gradually from the sublime to the familiar, with no loss of dignity. Everything is heart-felt, soul-deep: the sob of contrition, the *De profundis* of the spirit, comes from the innermost caverns of a hollow, sorrow-worn breast; the song of thanksgiving, its *Te Deum*, springs blithe and light from quivering lips, as if to carol among heavenly choirs. The voice of ancient priests must needs, one would think, have been of a rich and solemn modulation, now unknown on earth, to have had such beautiful sentences allotted to it to utter; and the multitudes who answered must have made a sound like to the noise of many waters, to have inspired such responses. What a fitness in the selection of every versicle; what refinement in the choice of allusions and illustrations; what exquisite taste in the application of Holy Writ to every want; what simple and natural, yet most sublime poetry pervading every office, even where metre is excluded; what a noble elevation of thought and expression in the more didactic portions! There is a fragrance, a true incense, in those ancient prayers, which seems to rise from the lips, to wind upwards in soft, balmy clouds, upon which angels may recline, and look down upon us as we utter them. They seem worthy to be caught up in a higher sphere, and to be heaped upon the altar above, at which an angel ministers.

In them we look in vain for that formal arrangement, that systematic distribution of parts which distinguishes our modern prayers. We never have petitions regularly labelled and cut to measure; and yet nothing can we want that is not there asked for. What seems at first sight almost disorder, is found, on examination, to be a most pleasing variety, produced by most artless, yet most refined, arrangement. They lack the symmetry of the parterre; there seems to have been no line and compass used in laying them out; the flowers are not placed according to a rigid classification, but they have the grandeur, and the boldness, and the freshness of a landscape; their very irregularities give them beauties, their sudden transitions effect; and their colours are blended in a luxurious richness with which no modern art can vie. They partake of all the solemnity and all the stateliness of the places in which they were first recited: they retain the echoes of the gloomy catacomb, they still resound with the jubilee of gilded basilicas, they keep the harmonious reverberations of lofty grained vaults. The Church's sorrows and her joys, martyrs' oblation, and confessors

thanksgiving, anchorites' sighs, and virgins' breathings of love,—all are registered there. He that would muse over a skull hath his *Dies Iræ*; she that would stand at the foot of the holy Rood, her *Stabat Mater*; and they that would adore in concert before the altar, their *Lauda Sion*.

Nor hath the Church at any time lost her power of prayer, her mastery over the harp of David; but silent and almost unstrung as it may for a long space appear, she hath but to attune it when she lists, and strike it, and bring forth the same sweet, soothing notes as at the beginning. Every new service or prayer which she has added to the pontifical or ritual, dissolves into the mass of more ancient compositions, so as to be undistinguishable, and blends with them, as a new ingredient in "the sweet confections of the apothecary,"* equal to the rest in savour as in virtue. Every modern office, like those requisite ones of the Passion which she has added to her breviary, overflows with the same exquisite poetry, the same balmy unction as the ancient services. And as to prayers emanating from the hearts and pens of holy contemplatives in the Middle Ages and in later times, we may truly say that they thoroughly partake of the Church's spirit, breathe her thoughts, in fact, are but sweet waters drawn off through private channels from her pure stream. St. Bonaventura and St. Bernard, and many like them, in those golden times of devotion, proved how completely men might be the tongues so to speak, of the Church, and express her holiest feelings; the *Jesu, dulcis amor meus* of St. Francis Xavier, the *Suma Domine, et suscipe universam libertatem meam* of St. Ignatius, the *Ante oculos tuos* of Urban VIII, which is hung round the confessionals of the apostles in Rome, and many other such private prayers, contain in them more pith and feeling than much longer compositions of modern times.

But to these we must now turn. The so-called Reformation, wherever it fell, blighted all warmth and tenderness, and introduced a totally new system of prayer. We know that some persons, enamoured of the services of the Anglican Church, find great aptness and beauty in their very barrenness, and consider it a fitting expression of the state of mourning in which that establishment put itself, or was put, on its separation from unity. We own we cannot take this view, for which no historical evidence can be offered. It was the dry puritanism of the times that influenced the compilers of

* Eccles. xxxviii. 7.

its service-books. It was the shadow of the Geneva gown and cap that hung over them, a baneful night-shade, a joy-killing upas-tree to all devotion and cheerful piety that came within reach of its heartless influence. The prayer-book kept a sort of meagre breviary service in the morning and evening prayer; but every hymn and antiphon was lost, and the beautiful alternation of cheerfulness and solemnity, the mixture of the didactic and the lyric, found in the day offices, was totally swept away. In the communion service, too, the peculiar beauties of the old liturgies, to which we will in due time advert, disappeared, and their places were supplied by comparatively dry and cold prayers and exhortations.

Now it has seemed to us as though some of the heaven which, while it fermented, sowed the sweet bread of old devotion among our neighbours, had unfortunately slipped among ourselves. For, the imperfections which we find in Protestant prayers we feel we may to some extent charge upon many of our own compositions. It appears to us as though most of our modern English prayers came too much from the head. Not that the heart was wanting in those who composed them—far are we from thinking so; but they feared to let it play; they put it in fetters, they bound up its feelings too much, lest they should turn imprudent. The consequence is, that they bear a certain reasoning, argumentative air, that smacks of a sadly controversial age. If we may venture to use such a phrase, we *memorialize* the Almighty instead of praying to Him. Our supplications for forgiveness seem to be not so much the cry of a culprit, who throws himself on his knees, before the Judge in whose hands lies his fate, as a petition to the throne for commutation of sentence. Every thing is admirably arranged, every extenuating circumstance earnestly pleaded; motives of mercy powerfully adduced: but there lacks the tear, and the sob, and the language of the contrite, that is the *crushed*, heart: the confusedly mingled throbs of terror and hope, of sorrow and love. So it is with our other prayers. Our thanksgiving expresses how we *ought* to be most grateful to God, wonders how we can ever forget his benefits, and begs that we may never cease to remember them. But it breaks not out at once into a canticle; it sings not forth spontaneously; "*Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est;*" it seems to be a duty, not a movement of the heart. Our expressions of love are likewise so constructed. They adduce the reasons which we have for loving our Creator, our Father and Re-

deemer ; they acknowledge the imperfection of our charity ; they express, in fine, that we do love however inadequately. But there is not always in them the fervour of love overflowing the heart and lips, in glowing, affectionate, impassioned addresses : we find not in them the surpassing sweetness of the "*Jesu dulcis memoria*," or the concentrated outbursts of love divine which many short sentences of the saints contain. There are quatrains, nay lines, in the poems of St. Francis of Assisium that express the ardour of a loving heart beyond what any modern, elaborate prayer has done. And why ? simply because they speak as one does who loves. Our modern prayers seem to us to have no wings : they creep with us on our own low sphere : they bear us not up to the empyreal, whither we wish prayer to raise us : we feel not among angels and saints as we pronounce them. And if they soar not with us, neither do they always warm us here below. They are as green wood placed upon the altar ; not like the perfumed cedar of the olden forms, which set it in a blaze, and rose gloriously upwards.

We trust we shall not be deemed censorious in writing thus. But we feel that it is just to give some illustrations or exemplifications of what we say. We might at once refer to the prayers for Sundays of that truly pious and learned divine Gother, as fully bearing out all that we have said. Long argumentative prayers will be there found in abundance, admirable as instructive, but far too heavy and dry for ordinary faithful. Let us, however, select a very short prayer given in almost all our prayer-books :

"PRAYER AFTER MASS.

"Accept, O most gracious God, this our service ; whatever by thy grace, we may have performed with diligence, in thy clemency regard ; and what we have done with negligence, mercifully pardon, through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen."

Nothing is here wanting ; the prayer is excellent in all its parts. But it is a collect in form, and seems to us cold in its present place, compared with more ancient liturgical compositions. Compare, for instance, the following concluding prayer from a Syriac liturgy.

"Grant me O God that grace of thy Holy Spirit, which Thou vouchsafedst to thy holy disciples in the upper chamber on Mount Sion, and on Mount Olivet ; nor take it from me either in this world or in the next. For from Thee is every good and perfect gift. O Light of lights, Creator of the world, Thee we adore,

Thee we glorify now and for ever, unto endless ages ! Farewell in peace, O altar most holy ! may I in peace return to thee again ! The victim which I have received from thee be to me the forgiveness of my debts, and the pardon of my sins, and obtain for me to stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, without debt or shame ; for I know not whether I shall ever offer up sacrifice upon thee again !”*

But before this is a splendid hymn of thanksgiving alternately sung between the priest and the deacon, which we would willingly transcribe, did space permit. It shows the joy and exultation with which the Church gave thanks for her most precious gift. Let us rather take another point of comparison. From the edition of the “Garden of the Soul,” as in several preceding editions, there has been excluded a very long morning exercise, in which all the proper topics of such a prayer were systematically included. With similar good judgment, several other such prayers, for sickness, indulgences, &c. have been omitted. For though excellent in many respects, they had the fault to which we have so often alluded, of being heavy, long, and formal. Some of the evening prayers in the various manuals before us we think liable to the same objections. It is not necessary to refer individually, because we fear they all labour under the disadvantage which we desire to notice. This we must beg to go about in our own way,

There can be no doubt that while the ancient Christians had their thoughts constantly turned towards God, in private prayer, the Church took care to provide for all the regular and necessary discharge of this duty, by her public offices. These were not meant to be holiday services, or mere clerical duties ; but the ordinary, daily, and sufficient discharge of an obligation belonging to every state and class in the Church. It never was understood that *besides* the public offices there should be certain long, family or private prayers, as necessary to discharge the duty of morning and evening spiritual sacrifice. For all that was right on this score, she took care to provide ; and where she has done this, we may be sure of its being done beyond hope of rivalry. Unfortunately, those offices have, for the most part, been reduced to a duty, discharged by the clergy in private, and have thus come to be considered by us as a purely ecclesiastical obligation super-added to, not comprehending, the discharge of ordinary Chris-

* Assemani Cod, Liturg. tom. v. p. 225.

tian duty. One is apt to forget that Prime is the Church's morning prayer, and Complin her evening devotions. Yet so the two manifestly are. But what greatly helps to make us overlook this fact, is, that we have been accustomed to consider morning and evening prayers as necessarily of a specific form, composed of certain specific acts of devotion, arranged in a formal order; and have lost sight of that form which characterises all the offices of the Church; and is and must be far the most perfect. Let us observe the principal difference between the two classes of prayers.

1. It will at once strike us, that the modern ones are almost entirely composed for recital by one person. That this is not with a view to private devotion, appears from the few responses which are introduced, just sufficient to show that congregational, or family, worship, as it is called, is intended. Yet the great body of assistants must be mere listeners, while one person recites a long series of prayers. Every one knows how difficult it is to keep up prolonged attention under these circumstances,—how easily the mind wanders and is fairly lost, till recalled mechanically by a response. Now this shows the advantage of frequency in these; nay how expedient it would be to have them come in almost every moment. Such is precisely the form of the Church offices. In the more solemn liturgy or mass, where the principal actor is the priest, having a ministry exclusively his, the rest must be content to join their prayers mentally with his, or rather with the sacred rite performed by him. And so in some other functions, wherein the priestly character alone has efficacy to act. But in all other daily Church offices, the service is essentially choral; all join, in nearly equal parts; psalms, hymns, versicles, antiphons, belong to the entire company of fellow-worshippers. All therefore become equally sharers, equally interested in the holy exercise; the attention is kept alive, or easily recovers itself. Surely this is a great advantage, and gives at once immense superiority to the ancient over the modern form of prayer.

2. The Church offices are always full of life and cheerfulness. This, in fact, seems to be a marked characteristic of the Catholic Church; she ever prays in hymns, making "a joyful noise to God with psalms." Even when she mourns she must have her song,—attuned in a deeper key, but still enlivening sorrow itself with hope. For about two months in the year she suppresses her Alleluja: for a fortnight at Passion-tide she withdraws in part her *Gloria Patri* but

only for three days, the three most solemn days of the year, does she silence the hymns in her office. Yet even then she does not banish them from her liturgy. On Maundy-Thurs-day she sings them at the consecration of the holy Chrism, and in the procession to the sepulchre, even on Good Friday she intones the sublime "*Pange lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis*;" breaking in with most tender effect upon the pathetic reproaches against the Jewish people. In this spirit, she has not a single portion of her sevenfold daily office without its hymn to open or close it. And surely this course is most wise, and considerate towards our poor frail humanity, which stands in constant need of such appliances for support in spiritual duties. They break the monotony which might otherwise ensue; they raise the tone of voice and mind above the pitch of ordinary conversation, and, if attuned to notes, they prevent weariness and freshen the spirits. Moreover they shed a poetical charm over the entire exercise, making prayer a pleasing and welcome occupation. This character may surely be imparted to family devotions; or rather we should say *ought* to be. For St. Paul seems to have these principally in view when, treating of homely duties, he exhorts the Ephesians to speak to themselves "in psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord;" (Ephes. v. 19); and when he tells the Colossians, still more pointedly, to "teach and admonish one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles." (Coloss. iii. 16). A cheerful giver God loves, and the natural joyfulness of mutual love, a common hope, one faith, and trustfulness in the same protection, should shed a beam of sunny brightness over the domestic expression of these feelings. And yet, such lightsomeness, we fear, does not pervade our devotional forms: they are mostly of a darker hue; there is sometimes even a melancholy complexion in them,—a thoughtful, anxious expression, rather than a buoyant, hopeful, smiling look. In this respect surely the Church is right.

3. Another difference, and one closely connected with the last, consists in the absence from the one of that orderly and systematic arrangement which seems to be so carefully studied in the other. There can be, we think, no doubt, that the difference results from the poetical character of the one, and the prosaic form of the other. In the Church offices every thing is prayed for that ought to enter into the exercises for which they are intended; but they being composed

of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles," most beautifully selected, the various petitions run blended through the entire office, according as the various portions of the chosen parts express them. This prevents weariness: it is like a variety of modulations in music, full of passages through various keys, with occasional apparent and momentary dissonances, that only give zest to surrounding harmonies. On the other side, our modern devotions have each petition, and each act of virtue, accurately distinct; no room is left for a varied play of feeling; there are no contrasts, no light and shade. The former is the language of nature, the latter that of art. An analysis of what we consider the morning and evening devotions of the Church, will easily show us how fully everything necessary enters into their composition, though no artificial arrangement is made.

In Prime, for instance, after we have placed ourselves in the Divine presence, by the preliminary prayer, "*Aperi Domine,*" and asked God's grace, "*Deus in adjutorium,*" the day opens with a beautiful hymn, in which we beg to be preserved from sin throughout the day, place our senses and hearts under the Divine protection, and beg that at evening we may look back upon an unsullied day, and sing thanksgiving for its many blessings.* Can anything be more appropriate,

* A translation of this beautiful hymn, from a source not easily accessible to all, may not be unacceptable to our readers, as no translation has appeared in any of our prayer-books:—

"HYMN.

"*Jam Lucis Orto.*

- "The star of morn to night succeeds,
We therefore meekly pray,
May God in all our words and deeds
Keep us from harm this day.
- "May He in love restrain us still
From tones of strife and words of ill,
And wrap around and close our eyes
To earth's absorbing vanities.
- "May wrath and thoughts that gender shame
Ne'er in our breasts abide,
And painful abstinences tame
Of wanton flesh the pride;
- "So when the weary day is o'er,
And night and stillness come once more,
Blameless and clean from spot of earth,
We may repeat, with reverent mirth,
- "Praise to the Father, as is meet,
Praise to the only Son,
Praise to the Holy Paraclete,
While endless ages run. Amen."

more complete, more beautiful, than this? Can any modern substitution answer as well? The hymn is succeeded by three psalms, which never vary, as others do, day by day, which are often added. The first of these (the 53rd in the Vulgate, and 54th in the Hebrew) expresses, in strong and feeling language, the dangers of temptations which await us, the wiles and violences of spiritual foes who will assail us, calls strongly for protection, and triumphantly proclaims confidence in God's power and mercy, grounded upon experience of past goodness. To this feeling cry succeed good resolutions for the day, promises to observe the judgments, the law, the commandments of God, to prefer them to riches, to make them our happiness; and, intermixed, are fervent prayers for grace to do so, acknowledgments of our inability and helplessness without it, and a grateful reliance upon the kindness of our heavenly Father. And all this is not set forth in cold orderly phrases, but in the glowing language of inspiration, in its richly varied imagery, and expression. For this portion of the office consists of two sections of the 118th (or 119th) psalm. This is followed by an exclamation of honour and glory to the God of heaven, succeeded, with sublime abruptness, by a most humble earnestly repeated entreaty for mercy to His Son. Then comes (except on festivals) a series of versicles calling for many graces and blessings through the day; and, after this, the confession of our sins, with its prayer for forgiveness, ending with the proper prayer of the service, begging of God, that, as He has brought us to the beginning of a new day, He would watch over us in it, preserve us from sin, and direct all our words, thoughts, and actions, to the performance of His law. When prime is chorally performed, a very appropriate and very beautiful addition is here introduced. The martyrology for the day is read,—that is, a condensed account of those saints who, on the present day, glorified God by their martyrdom, or found it their happiest day in a holy death, or otherwise honoured it by some great act of holiness. We thus have a series of models placed before us for imitation; we have recalled to mind and suggested to us, as topics of meditation, the actions, varying every day, of mortals like ourselves, who had pleased God and gained Him (for, to a mind read in their lives, the recurrence of their names will recall the memory of their peculiar merits); the communion of saints is individualized, so that we seem, for the day, to walk with a definite company of them, who keep special festival with us,—they in heaven, we on earth; and,

finally, we have special patrons thus allotted to us, who, that day, have us especially commended to them by the Church's commemoration of them. And hence the lesson of the Martyrology is concluded by a prayer, said ever when the lesson is dispensed with, for the intercession of the Blessed Mother of God, and all the saints whose death was precious in the Lord. Again, the cry for mercy is raised, and thrice repeated: for holy importunity is one of the Church's privileges. To this is added a beautiful versicle and response for the divine direction of all our day's work, and another collect, as beautiful as the former one, and to the same purport, placing our bodies and hearts, our senses, speeches and actions, under God's safeguard and guidance. Then comes a short chapter or lesson from Scripture, as a text whereon we may meditate during the day, it being selected with reference to the ecclesiastical season of the year, or the day's festival.

This very incomplete analysis may suffice to turn the attention of those who are not obliged or accustomed to follow the Church offices, towards these beautiful forms of prayer. We will now venture to give a briefer outline of the evening service or Complin, better known among Catholics. The opening blessing expresses the truly Christian view of evening devotion. The analogy between sleep and death, and the danger of passing from one to the other, by a sudden visitation, naturally suggest a double preparation—the advantage and justness of lying down on our bed as though it were in the coffin, of retiring to rest as though we might possibly not wake again on earth. We pray, therefore, to God, to give us “a quiet night, and a holy death—*noctem quietam et finem perfectum*.” Then, as the first preparation, we humbly confess our transgressions, and ask for pardon. The psalms follow, always unvaried. The three first are strongly and feelingly descriptive of confidence in the Divine protection. The expression of this sentiment, in such energetic and feeling tones, is surely the best means of imploring and securing that safeguard. But intermingled are other expressions of thankfulness, both for temporal benefits,* and for spiritual deliverances;† of reproach for our daily folly and vanity,‡ and secret repentance, before retiring to rest, for the day's frailty

* “Multi dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona,” etc.

† “Verumtamen oculis tuis videbis, et retributionem peccatorum videbis,” etc.

‡ “Filii hominum usque quo gravi corde,” etc.

and failings.* The fourth psalm† is a lively and beautiful call upon those who, in discharge of their ministry or religious duties, will watch the night in God's house, to praise Him on behalf of us who slumber, and draw down blessings upon our helpless state. How appropriate this invitation in a Church wherein so many communities of men and women rise every night to sing the praises of their Lord, and where, in almost every town, the faithful watch before the blessed sacrament exposed to adoration! Then comes the hymn, that never-failing support to waning attention, or fainting devotion; asking more clearly for protection during our rest; and followed up by the apposite chapter or text, which appeals to God for His care, on the ground that we are His living temples, on whom His sacred name has been called down. Then, in alternate verse and chorus, we commend our spirit repeatedly into the hands of the Lord God of truth, who hath redeemed us, and beg Him to guard us as the apple of His eye. The allusion which the dying words of our Saviour thus applied naturally suggest, to the final yielding of our spirit into the hands of our heavenly Father, is instantly taken up, and the canticle of Zacharias, "*Nunc dimittis*," humbly, but cheerfully, expresses our readiness to depart from this our banishment, whenever it shall please God to call us. And thus does the opening idea of our twofold preparation beautifully return to close the service. A prayer is added ("*Visita quæsumus*"), too well known as an essential part of all our evening devotions, to require any particular description. An anthem or hymn to the Blessed Mother of God, closes the public portion of the service.

Such are the evening prayers which the Church has drawn up for her children; and, for our part, we can wish for nothing better. We know not where an improvement could be suggested; and, therefore, we see not why anything should have been substituted for them. One or two circumstances seem to indicate, with sufficient clearness, that the two offices which we have analyzed were intended by the Church for the purposes described by us. For instance, prime commences as complin closes, by the creed, in addition to the usual prayers, the Our Father and Hail Mary; as though to begin and finish the day by the public profession of our faith. But further we may observe, that, while in every other hour of

* "*Quæ dicitis in cordibus vestris in cubilibus vestris compungimini.*"

† "*Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum.*"—Ps. cxxxiii.

prayer, the collects and responses vary according to the festival, those of these two offices never change, for season or day, but have manifestly a reference, not to a specific commemoration, but to a standing and daily duty. Their character is thus quite distinct from the others, and shows them intended for a different use. Why should not this use be restored? Why should they not become the standard devotions of all Catholics, whether alone, or in their families? Why may we not hope to have them more solemnly performed, chaunted even, every day in all religious communities, or, where there is a sufficient number of persons, even in family chapels? Thus would be more truly exemplified that resemblance to the Church in the Christian family, which St. Paul intimates, when he speaks of the Church that was in the house of an individual.* Surely, if in other respects the resemblance will hold, it should not be despised in this, that the family united in prayer should speak the very language of the Church; should observe the forms of devotion which she has herself drawn up and approved; and, as in good discipline, in spiritual affection, in communion of good works, in mutual encouragement to virtue, so likewise in the regularity and in the order of prayer, assimilate itself to those religious communities, which, in every part of the Christian world, praise God in her name, and under her especial sanction. We strongly suspect, that many who will join the Church, will hail with joy every such return, however imperfect, to the discipline and practice of the ancient Church; they will warm to us the more in proportion to our zeal for the restoration of its discipline.

It is impossible not to observe how decidedly partial the Church is to the breviary form of prayer on all occasions; for she imitates it in most of her other devotions, by composing them of a psalm and antiphon; then generally the *Kyrie eleison*, Our Father, and a certain number of versicles, followed by one or more prayers. Such is the form of the preparation and thanksgiving for mass, the *Itinerary*, or prayers for a journey for clerks, the grace for communities, the *Asperges*, the close of the great Litany, and many others.*

* Coloss. iv. 15.

† This form has been adopted in the "Prayers for the Conversion of England." We have before us a little book entitled "Prayers on the building of a new church," in Latin and English, in which the same form has been observed, but with sufficient irregularities to indicate want of long experience in the compiler. For instance, the little chapter is redundant, there being no hymn.

And this form seems to us by far the most perfect for any prayers, especially such as are to be recited by many in concert. We do not think that the psalms can be too much used in our devotions. Not to say that they are the language of inspiration, they contain almost every possible petition, and the expression of every feeling,—from the loftiest joy to the deepest sorrow,—which can enter into our solemn intercourse with heaven. They should not be confined to great and public offices; they should be familiar to us as “household words;” they should be employed in fulfilment of St. James’s counsel: “*Tristatur aliquis vestrum? oret. Æquo animo est? psallat.*”* In whatever temper our minds may be, there will be some one at least of those sacred melodies which will harmonize with it, accord its jars, soothe its fretfulness, calm its anxieties, cheer its gloom, console its sorrows; or, if it have not sunk below trustfulness and hope, enliven its serenity, or depress its eagerness, and compose the whole soul to that just standard of Christian peace which soars not in pride, and sinks not in despondency. It is not Saul alone, nor only *his* evil spirit, that hath felt the mildening and calming influence of David’s harp; many hearts, troubled like that of St. Augustine at Milan, have been lulled to religious calm by the powerful psalmody of the Church. No composition from man’s hand can ever bear such frequent repetition as these divine hymns; they are ever fresh to the heart, as the solemn tones in which the Church utters them are to the lips and ears: both are calculated for daily, nay, for hourly use, without danger of either losing its peculiar charm. The clergy have them indeed constantly in their mouths, by the recital of the divine office, but, from there being a very small portion of them in our ordinary prayer books, and from the want of suggestions for their use in our bibles, we fear many of our laity are prevented from becoming as familiar with them as they might. At any rate, the composers of prayer-books might, we think, advantageously follow the method adopted by the Church, and give to their devotions more of the form which she manifestly prefers.

We may be thought, perhaps, to have expressed ourselves strongly on the subject of modern prayers, as though of too argumentative and unpoetical a character. Do we, then, think that such a quality ought to be excluded from all petitions? By no means: for we hold that the Church herself

* Jac. v. 13.

has given us the most beautiful possible models of such prayers, as she has of everything else that belongs to religion. We would, then, divide the prayers of the Church into two classes, one which primarily and essentially is of a lyrical, poetical character, and one which bases our petitions upon some premise or ground, expressed in language simple, though not unadorned. The former class occupies by far the greater portion of the Church offices, the latter is chiefly confined to the collects and other very short prayers. Nothing can be more perfect in structure, more solid in substance, more elegant in conception, or more terse in diction, than the collects, especially those of the Sundays and Lent. They belong essentially to the traditional deposit of the Church, being found in the oldest sacramentaries, and *ordos*. It is evident that their symmetrical structure is the result of a rule or principle; so well is it always observed. For each is almost invariably composed of two parts, which may be called the recital and the petition. The first contains either a declaration of our wants, general or individual, temporal or spiritual, or a plea for mercy or for a favourable hearing. Or, it may be itself a prayer; only preparatory to a more specific and important request. In this first portion, nothing strikes one so much as the noble and appropriate terms in which the Deity is addressed, and the sublime greatness with which His attributes are described. What can be more majestic than such expressions as these: "Protector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum;" or "Deus virtutum, cujus est totum quod est optimum;" or "Deus innocentiae restitutor et amator;" or "Deus a quo bona cuncta procedunt"? There is, in fact, hardly a collect in which some singular beauty of thought, some happy turn of phrase, is not to be found. The connecting link between this preamble and the petition which follows, is often of the most energetic and most earnest character, being, in fact, the pith and core of the prayer itself, that which makes it a prayer; and, though confined to three or four words, is varied with wonderful richness in almost every collect. The petition itself is ever most solemn, devout, and fervent; often containing a depth of thought which would supply materials for a long meditation. There is no commonplace; but, whether the request refer to the public, or to private, blessings, it is conceived in terms so distinct and appropriate as to give it a character of originality and beauty. The collects, for instance, in Lent repeatedly pray against the same dangers of the season, remissness in its

painful duties, or mere formal observance of them, without the interior spirit of humility and mortification. One of the two collects of each day is almost sure to allude to one or other of these topics; yet the variety which runs through them is surprising. The petition appears new every time it is repeated, from the happy change in the phraseology. They are like variations in music upon a simple theme; more striking, however, than such variations usually are, because they never degenerate into long or complicated modifications of the original strain. The last is as simple as the first. If any one thinks that these prayers, so easy to appearance, require no great power to imitate them, let him try to compose a few, and he will soon find their inferiority to the old ones; he will find that it is far from easy to put so much meaning into such a small compass, and still more difficult to come up to the beauty and greatness of thought generally condensed in the ancient form.

These prayers we consider as the true models, the most perfect specimens of reasoned, unimpassioned, *prose* prayers. They are necessarily short, and occupy but a very small share in the Church offices: far the greater part is composed in a much loftier, warmer, and more poetic strain. We are not now speaking of the hymns or psalmody which enter into them, but of the bulk of the prayers composed expressly for the immediate service to which they belong and refer. The poetical character which pervades these noble services may be viewed in two different lights, as exhibited in the construction of single parts, or in the general combination of these into a whole. Of the former, almost every service of the pontifical affords striking examples. The consecration service for a bishop, for instance, is conceived in a lofty strain of thoughts and expressions that makes it perfectly lyrical. Take the following passage, after mention has been made of the sacerdotal robes prescribed by the Almighty in the old law. "Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostræ mentis ornatus est; et pontificalem gloriam non jam nobis honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum. Quia et illa, quæ tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant. Et ideo huic famulo tuo, quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc quæsumus, Domine, gratiam largiaris; ut quidquid illa velamina, in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, et in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in ejus moribus actibusque clarescat. Comple in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam,

et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum, cœlesti unguenti rore sanctifica."

The action is here suited to the words. The solemn chaunt of this beautiful prayer (for it is set to notes that add majesty and pathos to the words) is interrupted. All kneel, the hymn of the Holy Ghost is intoned, and continued by the choir, while the sacred chrism is poured upon the head of the bishop elect. Nothing can be bolder, or, we should almost say, sublimer, than this sudden break, and the introduction into it of the choral music of the hymn: after which the preface continues, actually alluding to the previous sentence, "*Hoc Domine copiose in caput ejus influat; hoc in oris subiecta decurrat; hoc in totius corporis extrema, descendat; ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora ejus repleat, et exteriora circumtegat.*" This explanation of the symbol is strikingly beautiful as it is bold: the prayer that the material unction applied only to the head should flow over and into the entire frame, is resolved into a petition that the invisible unction of the Holy Spirit may pervade the entire man. The way is thus opened for more specific petitions, and these are in the loftiest style. We have only room for a few sentences: "*Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. Sint speciosi, munere tuo, pedes ejus ad evangelizandum pacem, ad evangelizandum bona tua. Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis in verbo et in factis, in virtute signorum et prodigiorum. . . . Tribuas ei, Domine, cathedram episcopalem, ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam et plebem sibi commissam. Sis ei auctoritas, sis ei potentia, sis ei firmitas.*"*

* "For the attire of that former priesthood notifies to us the ornaments of the mind; and sacerdotal glory is not now recommended by the grandeur of robes, but by the beauty of souls. For even those things which then gratified the carnal sight, claimed attention rather to the things they signified. Wherefore, O Lord, we beseech thee to bestow upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to minister to thee in the dignity of high-priest, that whatsoever in those mystical garments was implied by the glitter of gold, the sparkling of diamonds, and the varied richness of embroidery, may shine in his morals and deeds. Achieve, in thy priest, the completion of thy ministry: and after clothing him with the brightness of all glory, sanctify him with the dew of celestial ointment. . . . May this, O Lord, flow abundantly on his head; may it reach his lips; may it descend to the extremity of his frame; so that the power of thy Spirit may replenish him interiorly; and cover him all around exteriorly. May the constancy of faith, the purity of divine love, and the sincerity of peace, abound in him. May his feet, by thy gift, be beautiful to preach peace, and to carry glad tidings of good things. Give to him, O Lord, the ministry of reconciliation, in words, and in deeds, in the power of signs and prodigies. Let his speech and preaching be, not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the shewing of the spirit and power. Promote him, O Lord, to the episcopal chair, to rule thy Church, and the flock committed to him. Be Thou unto him authority: be thou his power, be thou his strength."

Then, after a concluding sentence, is intoned and sung the Psalm (cxxxii.) "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity." Seldom is this sublime prayer chaunted or uttered without deep emotion. The present pontiff once performed the consecration of three bishops; but has declared that this function was too overpowering to his feelings to be ever repeated by him. There is nothing in our modern prayers to come near to such fervid, such poetical, yet such majestic, effusions. Yet this is only one part of a service filled with other passages equally noble and equally beautiful. What follows immediately is of the same character, and the prayers at the close, such as the one recited, when the mitre is put upon the head of the elect, are even richer in imagery and diction. To this must be added the ceremonial that accompanies the entire service, independent of the heavenly sacrifice into which it is interwoven; and we hesitate not to say, that no human genius could have devised a rite, to which every art that deals in the beautiful, whether in form or diction, or sound, or thought, has been brought to contribute its choicest charms. If our Anglican neighbours can see a manifestation of some divine agency in the preservation among them of some portions of the old liturgy, and can see in their prayer-book a proof of ecclesiastical life for their Establishment, what must the Catholic think of *his* Church, the services of which, compared with theirs, are as a golden tabernacle, richly jewelled and enamelled, wrought out in all the delicacy of the finest chiselling, and designed on the grandest scale, in all the exquisiteness of pure old feeling,—placed beside the flat tablets of the creed and decalogue, in dead blue and pale gold, over a mahogany communion table?

Time and paper would fail us, in attempting merely to name the splendid passages which every page, opened at random in the same book, presents to us. Catholics, in general, know far too little of it; and we hesitate not to say, that he who knows it not, cannot have any idea of half the grandeur of his religion. Why, there is not a place or a thing used in the worship which he attends, upon which there has not been lavished, so to speak, more rich poetry and more solemn prayers than all our modern books put together can furnish. When he hears the bell, which, swinging in its tower, summons him to mass, he perhaps scarcely knows that a consecration has blessed it, couched in diction which is literally splendid, and expressed by symbolical rites full of the deepest meaning and the finest feeling. What an idea would he not

conceive of the consciousness of power which the Church-Catholic possesses, if he had heard her commit to that brazen herald of her offices, power to dispel, by its deep-toned voice, "the enemy's fiery shafts, the thunderbolt's stroke, the hail-stone's rush, the tempest's destruction"? How lofty would her estimate appear of the holy influence which everything connected with her services should exercise, when even this their iron-tongued harbinger has a blessing prayed for in it, in such terms as these?

"O God, who didst order, that by the blessed lawgiver Moses, thy servant, there should be made silver trumpets, which when the priests during the time of sacrifice should sound, the people warned by their sweet notes should prepare to adore Thee, and assemble for the sacrifices; by the crash whereof encouraged to battle, they should overthrow their enemies' designs; grant, we beseech Thee, that this vessel prepared for thy holy Church, may be sanctified by the Holy Ghost, so that by its stroke the faithful may be invited to their reward. And when its melody shall sound in the ears of the people, may the devotion of faith increase within them: may all the snares of the enemy, the clattering hail, the furious whirlwind, the impetuous tempest, be driven afar; may hostile thunders die away, and windy blasts subside into gentle and wholesome breezes. The strength of Thy right hand cast down all spirits of evil; that hearing this bell, they may tremble, and may fly from the banner of the holy Cross of Thy Son, which hath been painted upon it,—that banner to which every knee bendeth of things heavenly, things earthly, and things below, and every tongue confesseth, that Our Lord Jesus Christ himself, having swallowed up death in the ignominious cross, reigneth in the glory of God the Father, with the same Father, and Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."*

* Or even in a higher strain, as follows, which we gladly give in the original: "Omnipotens dominator Christe, quo secundum carnis assumptionem dormiente in navi, dum oborta tempestas mare conturbasset, te protinus excitata et impetrante dissiluit; tu necessitatibus populi tui benignus succurre; tu hoc tintinnabulum Sancti Spiritus rore perfunde; ut ante sonitum illius semper fugiat bonorum inimicus; invitetur ad fidem populus Christianus; hostilis terrestris exercitus; confortetur in Domino per illud populus tuus convocatus; ac sicut Davidica cithara delectatus desuper descendat Spiritus Sanctus; atque ut Samuele agnum lactentem mactante in holocaustum regis eterni imperii, fragor aurarum turbam repulit adversantium; ita dum hujus vasculi sonitus transit per nubila, ecclesie tue conventum manus conservet Angelica, frugis credentium, mentes et corpora salvet protectio sempiterna."

The same feeling runs through the following beautiful prayer, by which the water is blessed, to be employed in the blessing of the bell:—

"Benedic Domine hanc aquam benedictione cœlesti, et assistat super eam virtus Spiritus Sancti; ut cum hoc vasculum ad invitandos filios sancte ecclesie preparatum, in ea fuerit tinctum, ubicumque sonuerit hoc tintinnabulum, pro-

What the Church does for the bells which send her invitations to her distant children, she does with even more feeling and beauty of thought and expression, for every portion of the sacred edifice, in which her own small still voice speaks to their hearts. From floor to roof-tree, from lintel to altar, from aisle to aisle, blessings are scattered, like flowers of heavenly brilliancy and hue, on the day of their consecration. It is indeed a pity that every catholic cannot, once at least in his life, witness this holiest ceremony. When performed with that quiet accuracy, and calm dignity, which should characterize every Church function; when all the attendants know exactly their places and their offices; when all the necessary preparations have been made, and all the many accessories provided in good taste; when the processions are decorously ordered, the music is thoroughly ecclesiastical, and the chaunted portions are solemnly given, the entire ceremony is more like a vision of Patmos, than an earthly scene. But we are forgetting that the prayers are our proper theme: although, to say the truth, they are, in this instance, so worked up with action, and this is so grand, so tender, so mystical, so awful, that they cannot justly be considered apart. The consecration of the church and the altar are so blended, and their beautiful prayers run so admirably into one another; the function is carried, with such variety, over every part of the sacred edifice, outward and inward, and is interspersed with such exquisite expressions of feeling, that the whole forms a sacred drama, full of stirring interest and movement, and sustained by the noblest forms and diction. When the relics of martyrs are introduced, in the middle of the service, and greeted first with such anthems as this: "Surgite Sancti Dei de mansionibus vestris, loca sanctificate, plebem benedicite, et nos homines peccatores in pace custodite;" and afterwards, when borne into the Church on the shoulders of priests, and followed by the people, are welcomed by several such apostrophes as the following: "Ingredimini Sancti Dei, præparata est enim a Domino habitatio sedis vestræ: sed et populus fidelis cum gaudiis insequitur iter ves-

cul recedat virtus insidiantium, umbra phantasmatum, incursia turbinum, percussio fulminum, læsio tonitruorum, calamitas tempestatum, omnisque spiritus procellarum; et cum clangorem illius audierint filii Christianorum, crescat in eis devotionis augmentum, ut festinantes ad piæ matris ecclesiæ gremium, cantent tibi in ecclesia sanctorum canticum novum, deferentes in sono præconium tubæ, modulationem psalterii, suavitatem organi, exultationem tympani, jucunditatem cymbali; quatenus in templo sancto gloriæ tuæ suis obsequiis et precibus invitare valeant multitudinem exercitus Angelorum."

trum, ut oratis pro nobis Majestatem Domini: Alleluja;" we have the communion between the ancient and the living Church, and between the militant of all times and the triumphant, so vividly and so feelingly brought home to us; we are so affectionately associated with those glorious martyrs, whom we are burying with honour "beneath the altar of God,"* and whose radiant spirits we must believe to be hovering over us and taking part in our holy service, that the very spark of Catholicity must have been extinguished in the breast, that glows not with warm yet most tender emotions in assisting at the function.

But once more we are allowing ourselves to stray. From the variety, then, of magnificent prayers, with which this service abounds, we will select one, which, though long, will allow us to remark some of the most distinguishing characters of the ancient liturgical prayers. It is the concluding prayer of the blessing, bestowed upon water mingled with other ingredients, to be used in the consecration of a Church.

"Be made holy, through God's word, heavenly stream! be made holy, water pressed by the footsteps of Christ; thou, pent within mountains, canst not be imprisoned, dashed amidst rocks canst not be broken, and spread over the earth, art wasted not! Thou bearest up the dry land, carriest the weight of mountains, and yet art not crushed; thou art treasured in the heavens' summit; thou poured out on every side, wastest all, and needest not to be thyself cleansed! Thou, for the Jewish people in its flight, art congealed to a solid mass; and, again dissolved into foaming billows, destroyest the tribes of the Nile, and with thy furious current pursuest the hostile band: thus at once salvation to the faithful, and to the wicked a scourge! Thee the rock struck by Moses rendered up; nor couldst thou lurk within its caverns, when the majestic command ordered thee to come forth! Thou, embosomed in clouds, dost gladden the fields with fertilizing showers! Through thee is poured out, for bodies parched with heat, a draught, delicious at once and quickening; thou, bounding through the earth's hidden veins, furnishest her vital spirits, or her prolific nutriment, lest inwardly scorched and withered she should languishing refuse her appointed produce! Through thee the beginning, through thee the end exults! Or rather it cometh from God that we should know not thy boundaries: yea rather *Thy* boundaries, O God Almighty! whose glorious works we knowingly proclaim, while we celebrate the praises of thy element: THOU art the author of all blessing: THOU the fountain of salvation! Thee therefore we entreat suppliantly,

* Apoc. vi. 9.

and pray ; shower down upon this house, in abundant streams, Thy blessing : liberally bestow every good gift ; prosper it, protect it : destroy the demon of evil deeds, appoint an angel of light for its friend, its administrator, its protector. This house, begun in Thy name, finished with Thy help, Thy blessing strengthen, that it may long remain. May these foundations deserve Thy safeguard, the roofs Thy covering, the doors Thine entrance, the interior Thy presence ! Make the firmness of these walls, through the light of Thy countenance, be for the profit of men."

Here the bishop marks the door with the sign of the cross, and continues.

"Be the unvanquished cross planted on its threshold ; may both the door-posts be inscribed with the declaration of Thy favour ; and in the abundance of Thy mercies, may there be given to all who visit Thy house, peace with plenty, sobriety with modesty, superfluity with charitableness. All unquiet and calamity fly far hence ! Want, plague, disease, weakness, and the assaults of evil spirits, retreat before Thy coming ; that the grace of Thy visitation, poured out in this place, may overflow its boundaries, and stream through its surrounding courts : that this cleansing flood may find its way into every nook and crevice, and so there ever reign here the cheerfulness of peace, the kindness of hospitality, abundance of produce, reverence for religion, and plenteous means of salvation. And unto the place where Thy holy Name is invoked, let an ample supply come of all good things, let all temptations to evil be put to flight ; and may we be worthy to have with us, the Angel of peace, chastity, charity, and truth, who may ever preserve, guard, and defend us !"

What an elevated tone is this for prayer ! how full it is of confidence ; how copious and accurate, yet how fervent and enthusiastic are its expressions ! But we wish to note some marked and very strong peculiarities in our Church prayers, which widely distinguish them from modern compositions. It is remarkable, then, how grandly the Church, in her solemn offices, deals with all visible and sensible substances, and enters minutely into their qualities, extracting from them the richest materials for mystical allusions and applications. She seems so to contemplate nature throughout, as subservient to grace,—the outward world as ruled for the sake of the spiritual,—she reads God her Founder and Benefactor, so clearly in every property of matter,—finds such motives for religious gratitude in every disposition of the physical laws,—that she truly raises this lower sphere, through its alliance with faith, into a region of purer and holier existence, where the direct splendour of the Divinity is the sun that warms, and fructifies, gives life and growth. Throughout the preceding prayer, the pro-

perties of water seem to be rather marvellous prerogatives, than of natural attributes; it is represented as a live and busy power, exercising a spontaneous and free agency, a conscious principle: by the intermixture of its physical qualities, with its providential uses in the course of God's dealings with man, both seem to be reduced to one class, and the blessings which we and nature receive through this necessary element, seem part of the order of grace, and only preparatory for the mystical and spiritual application made of it by the Church of God. The same tone of feeling will be found to prevail in all other similar blessings. The salt, or ashes, or wax, or oil, or other substance employed in her ritual, and solemnly blessed on particular days, as on Ash Wednesday, Holy Saturday, or Maundy Thursday, are all treated in the blessing appointed for them, as having in their physical existence a necessary connexion with their intended religious uses: the bee has toiled at her cheerful task, and the olive has been gifted with perpetual greenness and with its rich succulency, chiefly that Christ's spouse might be furnished with what was necessary for her spiritual household.* In our ordinary prayers we speak as men involved in servitude to the material world; we find hindrances and contentions, nay mastery and tyranny in every part of nature; we feel that we are one of the race condemned to stubborn tillage of an ungracious and ungrateful earth; we are ever walking amidst the briars and thorns that spring from our own labours, we are ever spoiling our work with the sweat that drops from our brows. There is a creeping gait, a hiding attitude amidst the shrubs of our vale of tears, when we go to meet the God whom we have offended. The Church takes at once the bold and rightful posture of one who hath been cleansed in the laver of blood beyond world's price, till she is without spot or wrinkle, a *holy* Church;—the Spouse of Him, who held the privileges of sinless man, and never forfeited the rights of paradise; of Him who, in virtue of His lawful power, could command the winds and waves, could strike with blight the tree that bore Him not figs, and could multiply the bread of a family into an army's food. She looks on the elements, whether of earth or of the firmament, as en-

* "Aliter enim liquantibus ceris quas in substantiam pretiosæ hujus lampadis, apis mater eduxit."—Blessing of Paschal candle. "Qui in principio inter cetera bonitatis tuæ munera terram producere fructifera ligna jussisti, inter quæ hujus pinguiissimi liquoris ministri olivæ nascerentur, quarum fructus sacro Chrismati deservirit."—Consecration of the Chrism.

gaged, nay as held fast, in her service; she takes the earth as her inheritance, and the fulness thereof; and she commands the former as a lord would rebellious slaves, as *her* Lord rebuked the storms, nothing fearing their loud disdain, or their reluctant mutterings: and from the latter she chuses the richest produce, and claims it as due to her service, as intended for her uses, and she gives them value and sacredness, which in the natural course they possessed not. She does not merely pray that it may be so: but she wills that it be. Blessings are inherent in her words, her supplications carry the force of a compact with heaven. The bread that issues from her granaries, and the wine that flows from her vessels, are gifts too precious to be called by earthly names; and the oil from her press is fraught with a spiritual fragrance, yields a light and an unction which no power in nature could have bestowed. They went into her stores tributes of earth; she has made them, in very various degrees, celestial gifts. This dominion over nature, which the Church so magnificently assumes, is still further illustrated by another reflection. It is, that, while thus praying apparently over one small fragment or portion of a material substance, she seems, through it, to bless the entire element; it is not as though she had selected a certain share for herself, and left the rest to its natural profaneness: but she appears to vindicate to herself the whole, making it all sacred, and all subservient to holy purposes. She keeps no distinction of times and places, but brings together the most distant, in both, in the lofty view which she thus takes of things. The water which she is blessing is that on which the blessed feet of Jesus trod, that which Moses struck from the rock. In like manner, when she commemorates a day or season, she seems to lose count of ages, and treats the most distant eras as though now present. The night, for instance, on which Israel escaped from Egypt, and the glorious morning whereon Christ rose triumphant from the grave, are both celebrated on Holy Saturday, as if centuries had not interposed between the two, and between them and us. And so the day of death seems ever spoken of as though it were that of final doom, and the fearful imagery of the latter is boldly appropriated to the former.

Do we, then, mean to say, that an unauthorized composer of prayers (we do not use the epithet in an invidious sense) should attempt so bold and so authoritative a tone as is used by the Church? Certainly not. But we think, that we should pray more in and with the Church; much more, that

is, in her spirit, and more even in her words. Her example, at least, shows, that we need not be afraid of letting the more vivid powers of the mind and heart have their play; that there is no danger in allowing the imagination to soar somewhat above the flat ceiling above us, and to roam a brief space among visions of past mercies and future glories, prophetic imagery and heavenly revelations, living with saints and angels, as St. John Chrysostom so much loves to do; that we may fearlessly permit the deeper and warmer current of feeling to flow, which our religion alone can unlock,—to flow in sorrow, in gratitude, in love, but in each, earnest, tender, affectionate; and, in fine, that there can be no ground for alarm, if this stream will not be pent up, but must needs find a vent, and so gush out at the eyes in tears, and pour itself out from the lips in impassioned expressions, in half-broken accents, in hymn-like tones. We may learn, that “thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,” are the language of prayer according to the Church’s ideas and practice; and that, whether Englishman or foreigner, her example should be to us a rule that allows no national distinction or exception.*

* “It has also been my wish” (in this compilation) “to modify those expressions of devotion, which, translated from the vocabularies of more energetic nations, appear familiar and even profane to our sober habits of thought, and to expunge all declarations of exaggerated feeling,” &c.—*The Family Prayer Book*, 1st ed. p. iv. The amiable and pious author of this work has not inserted this passage in his third edition. But the prayers composed on the principle here described have remained unaltered. We should prefer the declaration of such a principle to stand, that future readers may know it. For, otherwise, they might attribute the variations in some beautiful prayers to negligence rather than to design. As an illustration of what we take to be the author’s meaning, we will give the first part of what we have always considered a very beautiful prayer, in the original and in its translation. It is a prayer of St. Bonaventure after communion.

“Transfige, dulcissima Domine Jesu, medullas et viscera animæ meæ, suavissimo ac saluberrimo amoris tui vulnere, vera serenaque et apostolica sanctissima charitate; ut langueat et liquefiat anima mea solo semper amore et desiderio Tui, Te concupiscat et deficiat in atriâ Tuâ, cupiat dissolvi et esse Tecum. Da ut anima mea Te esuriat, panem angelorum, refectionem animarum sanctarum.”

“Inspire, most dear Lord Jesus, I beseech Thee, inspire into every recess of my heart, and into every tendency of my affections, Thy dear and saving love; Thy true, Thy calm, Thy holy and apostolic charity: so that my soul may ever long for Thee: may ever raise itself in spirit to Thy heavenly abode: may ever desire to be dissolved and to be with Thee. Oh grant that my soul may ever tend towards Thee, Thou bread of angels! Thou refreshment of holy hearts.”—p. 219.

Compare the two, phrase by phrase, and it will be seen that almost every figurative expression has been suppressed, and the warm poetry of the prayer

The prayers which we have quoted suggest another source of vivid poetical feeling, which is greatly, and, we believe, wrongfully, overlooked in our modern systems of prayer. It was manifestly the sense and conviction of those who composed the prayers of the ancient Church, that we are living in a perfect atmosphere of invisible and spiritual enemies, who disturb nature, thwart the providential direction of things, play foully on our imagination, trouble our peace, and try to pervert our reasons. They meddle with every thing that is of use to man, and endeavour to mar its purposes. They infest every place in which they can tempt and seduce him—from his own dwelling to the house of God itself. Earth, and air, and water, are equally their elements; the first is shaken and convulsed, the second is darkened by thunder-clouds, and tortured into whirlwinds, the third is lashed into foaming billows, by their permitted, but most malicious, agency. The doctrine, on this head, is clearly apostolical;* and that it was apprehended by the early Church, in a far more lively manner than by our duller faith, the writings of the fathers clearly prove. Now, the Church, in all her prayers, considers herself appointed to be the antagonist and vanquisher of this hostile crew; and, while she shows her deep and earnest conviction on the difficulties of the contest, she betrays no uneasiness as to its results. She hath power to rule and to quell these spirits of darkness. Moreover, she is not alone in the conflict. Every part of her offices displays her assurance, that a bright circle of heavenly spirits is arrayed around her, for the protection of herself and her children; spirits who can wrestle upon equal terms with those unsubstantial foes, and whose swords are tempered for their subtle natures. There mingle, too, in all her religious actions, legions of blessed saints, who have loved and honoured her upon earth, and who now worship and pray, invisible, with her children. These strong impressions of the incessant conflict going on between the enemies and the friends of God, are clearly and feelingly expressed by the Church, in innu-

turned into cold prose. It is as the rose despoiled of its perfume, as a rich fruit from which the juice has been squeezed out. We trust it is not "profane to our sober habits of thought" to apply the epithet *du'cissime* in one of the "sweetest" sounds of our language, to our B. Lord, the "*Casta lux amantium*." It is far from our intention to convey reproof on the excellent author; but we find fault with the system under which his and all our modern prayer-books are compiled. We want less fear and more affection.

* Ephes. vi. 12.

merable places. The whole rite of consecration of a Church keeps before our eyes the efforts which will be made by our invisible tempters to spoil God's work. The cross is planted at the door, the walls are purified and blessed, prayers are repeatedly poured out, to shield the holy place and its worshippers against the fraud and violence of wicked spirits. The blessings of bells, of crosses, and of reliquaries, have reference to the same idea. No substance is employed in any solemn rite (except the Eucharistic elements, which are deemed holy from their very destination), without a previous exorcism or adjuration of the enemy, that he quit all hold upon them, and presume not to misuse them. The water, the salt, the oil, consecrated for sacramental unction, are all so prepared; and the blessing upon them, and upon other similar objects, is, that wherever they are presented, sprinkled, or used, evil spirits may be put to flight, and their malice and wiles be confounded. The solemn application of this feeling in the rite of baptism has been well enforced by Dr. Pusey, in his *Tract on Baptism*, where he regrets the loss, in the Anglican ritual, of that portion of the service so calculated to produce strong impressions on the faithful.

There is surely a mysterious sublimity in this idea, the effect of which is most striking, and almost overpowering in these and other Church offices. The priest or bishop, who attentively and devoutly performs them, feels himself necessarily as one dealing with power and authority with a fearful enemy; in the nave of the Church he is striving against him for mastery, he is wresting from his gripe, by a strong hand, one of God's creatures, which he has enslaved; or he is beating off legions of dark, gloomy spirits, who flap their unclean wings, and with sullen flight retreat beyond the precincts from which they are driven, and hovering around it, as vultures kept from their prey, dare not violate the seal of Christ's holy cross placed upon its anointed doors. Prayers, composed to express and exercise this high authority, must have a solemn and most elevated tone; the very idea must fill them with poetry of the highest order. It has often struck us, that "the world of spirits" has been far too much forgotten amongst us; that we think more of the too visible power in the triple confederacy of evil, than of the far stronger and subtler of the three—nay, the master of the other two. We seem literally to have renounced "the devil and all his works," by never troubling ourselves about them. With the exception of one or two prayers, which we have borrowed

from the Church office, an allusion to this state of conflict is seldom met with in our devotions. We fight our spiritual battles as if only with tangible foes, and, consequently, with material weapons; we arm ourself with caution against danger, and with prudence against temptation; we study how we shall avoid sin by shunning men, how we shall escape passion by fleeing from conversation; but we forget that we have an enemy near and around us, whom no foresight or prudence can elude or prevent, who will bring the dangers to us even in a desert, and surround us with temptations even in a cell. The only chance against him is in prayer; but in prayer such as the Church employs, full of deep conviction, that what we pray against is a reality and no fiction, of earnestness proportioned to the perils to be averted, and of loving trustfulness in the protection of the God of heaven, who will make us walk on the asp and the basilisk, and in the guardianship of those blessed spirits, who will bear us up in their hands, through His commission. This commerce, then, between the visible and the invisible world, both for weal and for woe, we would gladly see brought far more home to our every-day thoughts, and to our habitual feelings, in prayer, than is done in modern compilations. The weakening of our faith upon one side, makes it faint upon the other; and the less we are impressed with the reality of our conflict with an unseen host, the less vivid will our thoughts be regarding our no less invisible allies. On this score, too, we think ourselves deficient. Our prayers to them—we mean such as enter into our daily exercises—seem like a formal request for intercession addressed to beings far removed from us—not the cheerful and confident conversation with friends close at hand, praying at our sides, and habitually interceding for us. Our sense of angelic presence, and of saintly communion, would be judged exceedingly dull to estimate it by our prayer-books. How different from the joyous, the friendly, and affectionate intercourse with those serene and kindly creatures of God, which exists in the ancient liturgies of every country, and in the pontifical ritual, and other offices of our own Church. How surely their favourable hearing is counted on, how confidently their protecting might is expected! or, rather, how warmly they are addressed as present; and how boldly does the Church take up their own song as hers; and, joining in choir with them, singing the praises of God, seem to bind them to join her supplicating mercy for herself!

One could not help being struck most painfully a few

years ago, with the manifestation of this defective feeling, made by attacking the Litany of Our Lady, in a Catholic periodical. The chief objection seemed to be the want of connexion, or of continuous sense, and the mystical and obscure character of the epithets applied in it to the Blessed Mother of God. It was considered, that these might be particularly displeasing, and a hindrance to converts or inquirers. Traces of these apprehensions are, we think, observable in some of the books before us,—in the introduction of other new litanies in her honour, with an intimation, in one instance, that no doubt “converts will prefer” the new form. This new form, we do not deny, is a very excellent and accurate condensation of the Church litany, and may serve as an admirable commentary on it; but, for devotional purposes, we should be sorry indeed to see any alteration introduced: nor have we yet met any convert who desired it. Again, our feeling is, what the Church has sanctioned, by universal and constant use, let us not wish to alter; let us be her children, and leave her to judge what is best for us. But this litany must be viewed in its proper light, and then can give no offence. It is, like so many other prayers, not in verse, like the *Gloria in Excelsis*, for instance, or the *Te Deum*, a hymn, a song of affectionate admiration, and, at the same time, of earnest entreaty. The latter suggests the frequent repetition of the cry for intercession; the former, the accumulation of enthusiastic terms and poetical epithets. It is the most natural expression of tender attachment, to be found in every writer, inspired or uninspired, who utters words of love. When the priests approach Judith, after the victory due to her valour, they thus address her: “Tu gloria Jerusalem, tu lætitia Israel, tu honorificentia populi nostri.”* In the Canticles such expressions do not surprise us: “Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni.”† Or, to come nearer to our case, we need only refer to St. Cyril of Alexandria, to quote no more, to have authority for what we say. Hear him apostrophise the Blessed Mother of God, in the following terms: “Hail, Mary, Mother of God, venerable treasure of the entire Church, inextinguishable lamp, crown of virginity, sceptre of true doctrine, indissoluble temple, abode of Him who is infinite, Mother and Virgin . . . Thou through whom the Holy Trinity is glorified; Thou through whom the precious cross is honoured;

* Jud. xv. 10.

† Cant. ii. 10, 13, 14.

Thou through whom heaven exults; Thou through whom angels and archangels rejoice; Thou through whom evil spirits are put to flight . . . Thou from whom is the oil of gladness; Thou through whom, over the whole world, Churches were planted; Thou through whom prophets spoke; Thou through whom apostles preached; Thou through whom the dead arise; Thou through whom kings reign, through the Blessed Trinity;”* Now, here is a litany, not unlike that of Loreto, and we have only to say, *Pray for us*, after each of the salutations, to have a very excellent one. This intercalation would surely not spoil it, nor render less natural, nor less beautiful, that address of the holy patriarch. It is evident that, in it, he is more of the enthusiastic poet than of the wary orator. The litany, too, is not a studied prayer, intended to have logical connexion of parts, but, as we have already stated, is a hymn of admiration and love, composed of a succession of epithets expressive of those feelings, the recital of which is broken into, after every phrase, by the people or chorus, begging the prayer of her to whom they are so worthily applied. It is poetry of that class which an oriental would not unaptly compare to a string of loose pearls, each beautiful in itself, but more beautiful from the manner in which it is matched by its fellows; and the whole collection appearing richer from the absence of a more artful and stiffly-connecting setting. Nor, in this sort of poetry, does one think of analyzing coldly every phrase, struck off, as it may be, by a fervid imagination in the warmth of feeling: certain, even remote analogies will often supply metaphors to affection; nor would it be easy to submit to severe tests some of the expressions of St. Cyril. At the same time, we will venture to say, that there is not one term in our litany which does not admit of the happiest and fullest application to its exalted subject.

It may be said, that we have selected our instances of the Church's prayers from more recondite sources, and from offices which can be witnessed or even read by a comparatively small number of the faithful. This is truly so; and we have therein been led by a sufficient motive. We wished to show, though necessarily in a very imperfect manner, that there are valuable stores of devotion not near as much known as could be wished. We would have the ritual and the pontifical in great part made accessible to the laity by good

† Homil. in Nestor. Oper. tom. v. p. II. p. 355. Ed. Aubert.

translations: we would have their services commented upon, both by word and writing. They could not fail to be brought to a deeper sense of their own duties and of their own wants, by frequent meditation on the baptismal, matrimonial, and other services of the one; they would be inspired with more serious and more exalted ideas concerning the worship of God and the sacred character of his ministers, were they made familiar with the magnificent forms of consecration employed in the dedication of places and things to His service, and of ordination, whereby His priests are gradually introduced to the sublime offices of the sanctuary.

But whatever we have said, till now, of any other Church services, will be more strikingly applicable to the sublimest of them all—her liturgy or the mass. This is far too copious a subject to be treated cursorily, or by way of illustration. We have not been surprised, that in latter years there should have prevailed a much greater use than formerly of the missal as a prayer-book, and that even it should be found expedient to print, in other books of devotion, the “*Ordinary of the Mass.*” This feeling, on the part of the faithful, shows their sense of the superiority of the Church-prayers over any substitutes for them. Nor, in fact, can any human genius hope to attain their beauty and sublimity. In these two qualities, the mass differs from all other offices in a remarkable manner. It has, not merely flights of eloquence and poetry, strikingly displayed in particular prayers, but it is sustained throughout in the higher sphere, to which its divine purpose naturally raises it. If we examine each prayer separately, it is perfect; perfect in construction, perfect in thought, and perfect in expression. If we consider the manner in which they are brought together, we are struck with the brevity of each, with the sudden but beautiful transitions, and the almost stanza-like effect with which they succeed one another, forming a lyrical composition of surpassing beauty. If we take the entire service, as a whole, it is constructed with the most admirable symmetry, proportioned in its parts with perfect judgment, and so exquisitely arranged, as to excite and preserve an unbroken interest in the sacred action. No doubt, to give full force and value to this sacred rite, its entire ceremonial is to be considered. The assistants, with their noble vestments, the chaunt, the incense, the more varied ceremonies which belong to a solemn mass, are all calculated to encrease veneration and admiration. But still, the essential beauties remain, whether the holy rite be

performed under the golden vault of St. Peter's, with all the pomp and circumstance befitting its celebration by the sovereign pontiff, or in a wretched wigwam erected in haste by some poor savages for their missionary. What can be more appropriate than the opening psalm and humble confession of sin by priest and people, the former yet standing at a distance from the altar, feeling himself unworthy to approach! Then comes the introit, which seems intended to be the key-note to the whole service, which, being one in its essence, yet adapts itself to all our wants, whether of propitiation or of thanksgiving; whether of evils to be averted, or blessings to be gained. Sometimes this introductory verse is loud and joyous, "*Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*;" sometimes low and plaintive, "*Miserere mihi Domine quoniam tribulor*:" in the paschal solemnity, the Alleluja rings through it all, like a peel of cheerful bells; in Passion-tide, even the "*Gloria Patri*" is silent, and it falls melancholy and dull; when a saint is commemorated, the nature of his virtues and his triumphs is at once proclaimed; if it be a festival of Our Lord, the mystery which it celebrates is solemnly announced. The chord, thus struck, at the opening of the service, returns at given intervals, as if to keep up the tone throughout. At the gradual, the offertory, and the communion, the verses read are in perfect harmony with it; and having, moreover, a corresponding, and even deeper, echo in the collects, gospel, and preface, one feeling is preserved, suited to the devotion which the liturgy, in its essence and main purposes invariable, is intended secondarily to excite. The *Kyrie eleison*,—that cry for mercy, which is to be found in every liturgy of east and west—seems introduced as if to give grander effect to the outburst of joy and praise which succeeds it in the "*Gloria in excelsis*;" it is a deepening of our humiliation, that our triumph may be the better felt. That hymn itself is full of beauties; the best demonstration of which is, that no composition ever lent itself more perfectly to the musician's skill; none ever afforded better play to the rich and rapid succession of every mode, gay and grave; none better supplied the slow and entreating cadence, or the full and powerful chorus. In the simple Gregorian chaunt, or in the pure religious harmonies of Palestrina, it is truly the "Hymn of Angels."

We should feel ourselves wholly unequal to the task of pointing out the excellence of the prayers which occupy the essential portion of the liturgy, from the offertory to the end. It has often struck us, that one single word could not be

changed to advantage in any one of them ; that there is more meaning compressed into a small space than in almost any other composition which we know ; and that everything is said which could be required or desired. All the prayers connected with the offertory are remarkably short : but they are full of vigour and of feeling : there is in them a most heavenly and sublime simplicity, a mild and tender pathos. When the priest, having completed his oblation, bows himself down upon the altar, and humbles himself in contrition of heart, as unworthy of his ministry, then with a noble confidence rises erect, lifts his hands and eyes to heaven, and solemnly invokes the God who dwells there, saying : “ Veni, Sanctificator, omnipotens aterne Deus,” and in His name blesses the sacred gift,—there is an awful grandeur in the rite ; an assurance of its efficacy in heaven as on earth. It seems as though the priest instantly retired, in order to make way for Him whom he had so powerfully called down to bless his offering, and went to seek still greater purity of hands and heart, so to return to his ministration more worthy to “ hear the words of praise” which the Church, in concert with holy angels, is about to sing in her hosannas. The prefaces are all perfect in substance and in form ; there could not be a more splendid introduction, with the hymn which closes them to the divine rite that follows. Here we must pause : because the subject becomes too sacred for our pen : the ground upon which we are about to tread is holy, and the shoes must be loosed from the feet of him who will venture upon it. To speak worthily on it, requires language and a mood far removed from the humble office which we are exercising. We stated, at the outset, that we were not going to read a homily upon prayer, but only to act the ungrateful part of critics. We therefore content ourselves with saying, that those who would wish to learn how prayers may or should be composed, should meditate long and deeply upon these apostolic prayers, which have nothing beyond them save God’s inspired word.

In all that we have written, we should be sorry to be interpreted as casting blame upon the compilers of our modern works of devotion. This was far removed from our intention. Of the authors whose collections stand at the head of our article we cannot but speak with respect. One is a layman of exemplary life, and zealously attached to the holy religion which he professes. On the plan which he has pursued we may differ, but without any diminution on our parts of kind-

ness and respect. Another is a veteran grown grey in the battles of the Lord, one whose ready pen has seldom been laid down in the cause of truth and piety, and who, by an acquaintance with Protestant theologians rare on our side, has furnished succeeding controversialists with many new arms. Of the third, the truly venerable, learned, and saintly Dr. Challoner, it would be both unjust and ungrateful were any English Catholic to speak in terms other than of profound admiration and sincere respect. He has alone furnished us with a library of religious works, the privation of which would create a void, not easily to be filled up by many other men's writings. The catechism from which we learnt the first rudiments of our faith, those by which we early became acquainted with sacred history, or versed in controversial discussion, the prayer-book with which we have been most familiar, the meditations which have afforded daily instruction to us in families and in communities, many of our most solid and most clear works of controversy, the charming records of our fathers in the faith, the missionary priests, the martyrology of our ancient Church, and many other works, we owe to this really great and good man; and we know not what we should have done, or what we should have been, without them. He supplied, in fact, almost the entire range of necessary or useful religious literature for his Catholic fellow-countrymen; and that at a time when such a supply must have been truly as a boon from heaven. Yes, and at a time when such works were not published without some personal risk and danger. Far be it from us, immensely inferior as we feel ourselves, in every good quality, to this holy bishop, to impair his honour, or speak disparagingly of his merits. Our only surprise and regret is, that we Catholics of this country have never thought of expressing our obligations to him by some monument to his memory: now that we may safely proclaim our feelings as well as our religion.

But while we are grateful for all that we have received, we may be forgiven if we ask for more. Holy desires may grow; and what satisfied their yearnings in their weaker state may not be sufficient food for them in their strength. And we believe sincerely that the longings of our people after the higher spirit of devotion, is, and has for some time been, on the increase. Devotions, formerly but little known and practised, are becoming, thank God, familiar to us, as to the rest of the Church. We may instance the rosary, that favourite tribute of sympathy to God's blessed Mother, from

her affectionate children, which is every day coming into more general use. Other devotions we could name, which evince a growing love for the tenderer and more moving class of religious emotions. These we want to see supplied with wholesome and nutritious food, and not left to pick up, where they can, either a scanty or an unsound diet. It has appeared to us that our present books answer not this craving. The passion, for instance, of our Lord, is but insufficiently presented to the mind and affections. Its merits and the blessings it purchased are fully expressed,—sense of gratitude clearly impressed; but the moving and piercing scenes of that great mystery do not occupy that prominent place which we humbly think they ought. The reciter of our ordinary prayer is not conducted by them to the foot of the Cross; Calvary is not the mountain on which we usually pray. Yet never was soul trained to sublime virtue and tender piety, without much sitting on that hill of sorrows. For we may ask, might not a person, day after day, recite those prayers which form our ordinary exercises, without having his thoughts vividly turned towards those affecting scenes which should form the theme of daily meditation? And, if so, is there not an important want to be supplied? Nor would there be difficulty in supplying it. The writings of St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, Thomas à Kempis, and many modern contemplatives, would furnish abundance of materials. A little work before us, “Devotions commemorative of the most adorable Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from Catholic sources,” published this year by an Anglican clergyman, has collected many beautiful ones, which might have been increased. It is true that separate works, containing prayers on this and other particular subjects, may be procured; but the great body of persons do not think of such devotions, unless they be brought before them in their ordinary books, and as connected with their usual prayers. The introduction of them, and of more prayers to the B. Sacrament, and to the holy Mother of God, would help to add expression of greater feeling to our devotional stores.

After all, this world is dry and weary enough to be as a desert to a religious soul. There is little enough of heart in its ordinary transactions to make one long for some place in which ours may be allowed freely to expand. We have no occurrence of sacred representations and symbols to keep constantly awake our more sacred feelings: no crucifixes on the way-side, no saints at the corners of the streets. We have

little or nothing (with few exceptions in some favoured spots) of the dignity and majesty of religious functions; few of us can witness those moving ceremonials, or attend at those especial services of stated seasons, which work so powerfully on the soul, and, for a time at least, elevate it to noble thoughts, or melt it to tenderness. We have scarcely any of those appliances which abound in Catholic countries, that rouse habitual apathy, or kindle up confirmed lukewarmness, such as spiritual retreats, or missionary preaching. Nay, we are worse off than all this. The holy sacrifice, the liturgy of our Church, is not accessible to many of us as a daily service: distance, or want of time or of opportunity, may prevent our attending it: even the house of God and the adorable treasure which it contains cease to be to us a home, an ever-lighted hearth at which our natural chillness may be daily warmed. On what, then, have we to rely for religious fervour, for affectionate devotion, for all the variety of earnest, of deep, of tender feelings towards our God and Father, towards our Saviour and Judge? Why, almost exclusively on our prayer books. Their contents are the fuel, by which the fire of habitual piety must be kept up and the flame of heavenly charity daily enkindled. And these prayers are to be recited, too, under every disadvantage, while kneeling probably against a chair or the bed which we have just left, without a crucifix or pious image before us, or any other religious association that can call up the idea of a place dedicated to God: or, perhaps, in the very room in which we have all just enjoyed our evening meal, and jested and laughed, or quarrelled, or talked over harassing cares and worldly vexations! Should not our prayers be very pleasing and inviting, and, at the same time, very warm and inspiring, to serve this two-fold purpose,—of cheering the barrenness of this vale of tears, and of keeping alive the fire of heaven in our souls? If this world is a dry and heartless waste, (“fructu vacuum floribus aridum,” as the Church so beautifully describes it), surely, our “Garden of the Soul,” our “Paradisus Animæ,” should be in proportion a green choice spot, a well-watered pleasaunce—a “hortus irriguus,” wherein everything should contrast with the briar-bearing land of exile without. The plants that grow in it must be ever living, ever fresh, ever blooming; and withal most varied in hue, in shape, in fragrance, and in produce. Whether we seek the melancholy shade, or love to bask in the sunny light of heaven, there must be found the same serene atmosphere, the same holy calm; the darkness of the

one must inspire no despondency or dejection; the sparkling beauties of the other must not dazzle, or make us forget our low condition. The blessed feelings which it inspires should rise as incense in the morning up to heaven, and descend as soft dew upon the soul at evening. The tree of life, ever fruitful, ever quickening, should be planted in the midst,—the Cross of our Lord, our refuge in affliction, our staff in weakness, and our chastener in over joy. There should be a choice of prayers for every state, for every season, for every circumstance: but in every case, the same fervour, the same tone of affection, of confidence and of earnestness, should prevail. Our hearts should burn as we recite them; our souls should be associated with the blessed spirits above, while our lips utter only earthly words. The prayer book, in other words, should only be the suggester of prayer; it should form the artificial wings upon which the affections rise, till they reach that sphere in which they are buoyed up without further support, and look on the Sun of Righteousness, and the Eye of heaven, in a region wherein words need not be uttered.

ART. VII.—*Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839*, by Mrs. Hamilton Gray. London: 1840.

THE volume before us is written on a subject of no ordinary interest; and we shall add of no ordinary importance. It is a subject also, which is new to a vast number of our English readers; sepulchres are not usually objects of attraction to the continental, much less to the female, tourist; and the very novelty of the present work, independently of its historical value, should make it acceptable to a larger proportion of the reading public. In the crowd of travellers who go each year the round of the continental cities; getting rid of much of their cash, and none of their prejudices; who estimate the motives of men and of actions, and the tendencies of civil and religious institutions, by the narrow and erring standard of their own preconceived opinions, and these not of the most enlightened or liberal description; it is cheering to meet one superior to the sectarian feelings or national prejudices of the country, and disposed to do justice to all, even though their religion should be different from his own. It is not every day we meet a writer who has the hardihood to

assert that the Italians are a noble people, that the canons of a provincial church are intelligent and well-informed gentlemen, and that the sovereign Pontiff himself deserves the gratitude of the world for the services he has rendered to the cause of science and literature.

The attention of Mrs. Gray was first drawn to the subject of Etruscan antiquities by an exhibition of urns, vases, and sarcophagi, some years ago, in Pall Mall, by Campanari, an Italian. The beauty of these relics of an extinct and almost unknown people, excited her curiosity to such a degree, that, on a journey to Italy some time after, she resolved to explore, personally, the locality in which they were found. The collection of Campanari, which was afterwards purchased for the British Museum, was small and insignificant, compared to the magnificent collections to which she had access, in the capital of the Christian world. The Gregorian Museum, begun by the present Pontiff, was especially an object of attention. Private individuals were in possession of many beautiful and extensive collections, and valuable specimens were each day being brought to light by the zeal or the cupidity of the excavators, and to be met with in the public shops and stalls of Rome, exercising the learning and ingenuity of its antiquaries. So numerous were they, that, in the year 1815, the tombs of Tarquinii yielded no fewer than five thousand vases; and so valuable were many of them, that it was confidently stated, that, in three months, no less a sum than forty thousand scudi was realized by three speculators alone.

It is matter of surprise that they should have been so long concealed. For many years it had been suspected that the ruins of Etruria contained many relics and memorials of its former inhabitants, and a few were from time to time discovered. But the excavations were carried on with neither system nor perseverance: the discoveries that have been made are the result of comparatively a few years. A native of Toscanella, about forty miles from Civita Vecchia, and in the heart of the country formerly occupied by the Etruscans, was the first professional explorer of whom we have any record. He entered into partnership with a few other individuals. The papal government gave the necessary permission, reserving only to itself a preference of the right of purchasing any article of value or of interest that might be discovered. The excavations were accordingly commenced; the success of their efforts soon attracted others, and the

results have been such as no one previously could have contemplated. Vases, urns, golden crowns, breastplates and ornaments, paintings, sculptured sarcophagi, scarabei or sacred beetles, gems of curious and costly workmanship, and in every stage of art, from the most rude to the most refined, have been found in such variety and abundance, as to startle many who had been wont to view the nations of central Italy through the false medium of Roman literature. The Romans were never ready to do justice to a rival power. They wished the world to understand, that at all periods of their history no other people could equal them in the great attributes of empire. If they were magnanimous and generous, it was only to the humbled foe who lay crushed and prostrate at their feet, and from whom they no longer had anything to fear; not to the rival, who was their own equal in all but fortune. The labours of Niebuhr have done much to restore to the early inhabitants of Italy that place, of which the jealousy of Rome would have deprived them. He has succeeded in detecting the unsoundness of much that was generally received as history, by observing its contradictions, its incompatibility with other well-established and admitted facts, and the impossible and improbable occurrences which it admitted into its pages. No later than half a century ago, it was with considerable hesitation and timidity that a few adventurous writers could hint a suspicion of the truth of many of its early stories. The majority of readers would as soon doubt the existence of Romulus or Numa as they would the existence of Alfred or of Edward the Confessor. Niebuhr, with that unrivalled sagacity which in him amounted to a species of divination, has done much to separate the mere legend from the fact, and to point out the statements which may be true and those which are more than doubtful.

What reliance, for instance, is to be placed upon records which assign a period of one hundred and seven years to the reigns of the last three kings, and tell us that the Tarquinius who was expelled a hale strong man at the end of that period, was the son of him who ascended the throne in mature age, at the commencement thereof? Servius, too, marries the daughter of Tarquinius, a short time before he is made king; yet, immediately after that event, he is the father of two grown-up daughters, whom he marries to the brothers of his own wife; the sons of Ancus, who murdered Tarquinius to get possession of their father's throne, are made to wait for eight-

and-thirty years before they attempt their purpose; during which period, time and long possession must have been making their case, each day, more and more hopeless, and their claims more and more impracticable. The Roman history makes mention of no great change in the religion of the people after that of Numa; and yet we know that a complete revolution (reformation would, perhaps, be the better word) must have taken place in that respect; for when, in after times, the sacred books of Numa were dug up by accident, near the capitol, they were ordered by the senate to be burned. On being read, their contents were found to be completely opposed to the then prevailing doctrines, and their tendency and spirit subversive of the religion of the people. How imperfect and inaccurate, at least, must be the history which could be silent on a matter of such importance. Again, we find that a great change must have taken place in the extent of the Roman territory; for, by the commercial treaty made by Rome with Carthage in the first year of the Republic, and preserved by Polybius, the cities along the Latin coast as far as Terracina were then its dependencies; while twelve years later all these are independent, and we find the Romans disputing the sea-coast nearer home with the Volsci and the Latins; and the local tribes which, under Servius Tullius, were thirty in number, some time after are found to have dwindled to twenty. These are all conclusive proofs that the cities must have undergone some great religious and political changes by which the established religion was altered, and its territorial possessions diminished, at least one third, from what they are known to have been at an earlier time. The change of government is attempted to be accounted for, but not a word is said of these other important alterations. Even the famous contest with Porsenna, which their writers could not altogether conceal, they have taken particular care to misrepresent; so far from the issue being as is stated by them, that it is now admitted that the city surrendered at discretion.* From the summit of the Janiculum, Porsenna dic-

* Tacitus says, "*Sedem Jovis optimi maximi, quam non Porsenna, dedita urbe, neque Galli captâ, temerare potuissent.*"—Hist. book III. What this *de itio* means, may be seen by the form which Livy has preserved of the surrender of Collatia, and which he states to have been the one usual on such occasions: "*Rex interrogavit, Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino ut vos populumque Collatinum dederitis? Sumus. Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate? Est. Deditisne vos, populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani ditionem? Dedimus. At Ego recipio.*"—Livy

tated terms to the vanquished people; and believed that he had for ever made Rome powerless for evil, when he stripped it of great part of its territory, when he deprived it of the use of iron, except as far as might be necessary for the purposes of agriculture, and when he made it a mere dependency on the power of Etruria. Yet does the history of Rome make no mention of such a calamity. The heroism of Cocles, the devotedness of Scævola, and the patriotism of Clælia and her companions, beautiful legends though they be, are but a poor and inadequate substitute for the truth which it ought to give us. We of modern times are not interested in the honour or dishonour of these events; we will not receive romance, however beautiful, as a substitute for truth; and therefore we can have little difficulty in tearing away the veil which national pride would draw over the humiliating chapters of this history.

Niebuhr is of opinion that the early portions of Roman history are taken from some metrical romance of the olden time, in which, like Virgil, the writer has assumed the main facts of history as the framework of his poem, and filled it up with many an incident of his own creation. It certainly has more of the life and unity of a poem than of a history; and far surpasses in interest the chronicles of later times. Much of Livy's narrative has been also derived from the traditionary recollections of the families whose ancestors were concerned in the events which he describes. And it is perhaps less difficult, even now, to separate the truth from the large alloy of family laudation, than when his work was written. Each noble family was anxious to ascribe to its own members, whatever of valour, or of patriotism, was exhibited in the senate or the field. The truth was never tested by the criticism or the censure of contemporary or interested persons. Indeed an impartial historian could not have written in ancient Rome. The laws of the twelve tables completely suppressed any free expression of censure or disapprobation. The Right Hon. Francis Blackburn was never more unwilling to have his conduct discussed or his administration found fault with, than were the civil and military officers of the Roman commonwealth. If a man dared to utter a word of censure or of blame against any public character, he was to be for ever incapable of giving testimony in a court of justice, and was deprived of the power of disposing of his property by will.

book i. chap. 38. From this form we may infer the result of the victory of Porsenna over the Romans.

The poet Nævius had to fly from Rome, through the influence of the Metelli, for no severer censure than is contained in this line,

“Fato Romæ fiunt Metelli consules.”

By the influence of these laws, and the yet stronger influence of public feeling, the literature of early Rome received an inevitable tendency to eulogy. So strong and universal has this been, that no eminent person—more especially any one possessed of family influence, is ever spoken of in other terms than those of eulogy and praise. And if we cannot rely on it for the particulars of their own eventful career, how unlikely is it to do justice to a rival power. But Etruria has found a voice wherewith to urge her claims. That voice has reached us from her tombs. In more than one sense is it true, that the dead are demanding justice to their memory.

But we have left Mrs. Gray on her way to the sepulchres; and it is fitting that we should bear her company. Her tour included the cities of Veii, Tarquinia, now Corneto, Vulci, Cære, Farnum Voltumnæ, now Castel D'Asso, and Clusium, the city of Porsenna. We shall give, in her own words, some of the principal objects that attracted her attention. Here is the opening of a tomb at Veii, and the manner in which they are generally discovered.

“Several of our party had been with the men the whole morning, and seen the operation of uncovering the face of the tomb. When we arrived we stood upon the brink of a deep pit, probably about ten feet deep, and we looked down upon a rudely arched doorway, filled up with loose stones. It was cut in the hard tufo rock that composes the hill; very different from the rich loose soil which we saw lying all around it; and on each side of this arched door was a lesser arch, leading into a small open chamber, perfectly empty. I entered the tomb; a single chamber, arched in the rock, apparently ten or twelve feet square, and somewhat low. It was so dark that I was obliged to have a torch, which a labourer held within the door, that I might see by myself what was the arrangement of the tomb, and what it contained. The bottom was a sort of loose mud, both soil and wet having fallen in through a hole which existed at the top of the door, owing to the want of a closing stone. In this lay above twenty vases, large and small, of various forms, two of them with four handles, but they were all of coarse clay, and rude drawing, and in that style of art which is considered prior to all others, viz. purely Etruscan, and without any intermixture from Greece or Egypt.”—p. 79.

This tomb had been rifled before; it contained no sarco-

phagus, though the place was marked where one had once stood. In virgin tombs, as they are called, the doors are made of slabs of stone, with projections to fit into the rock, above and below, like hinges, and therefore when opened are always found clean and dry. They are discovered in the following manner.

"The foreman of the labourers took his pickaxe and struck the ground in many places, but it resounded to the tufo (rock of volcanic formation, found generally in the vicinity of Rome.) He went on in the same direction, however, along the hill, and at last the axe stuck in the earth, and he ordered a man to dig. About two feet deep he came upon the rock, and then, of course, desisted; at the distance of a few paces the axe stuck again, and the foreman found the earth deep. He then searched about and distinctly traced upon the grass the part where the rock and soil met upon the upper line of a door. He marked the plan, and the newly-discovered spot would be the scene of his next excavation."—p. 90.

The following is the description of the "*Grotte della Biga*," as it is called at Tarquinii, which as it gives the reader a somewhat correct idea of all, we copy entire, though there are others of greater extent and magnificence.

"It was discovered in 1827, and is so called on account of the principal subject depicted on its walls, which is chariot races. It is a square chamber of about sixteen or seventeen feet in dimension; the roof is vaulted, with a painted beam across it, and diced in red, white, blue, and black, ornamented with wreaths of Bacchic ivy. Over the door are represented two geese and two leopards, both of which animals are sacred to Bacchus, the president of the funeral feasts. The walls are divided into two compartments, an under and upper one, on which are painted different classes of subjects. To the right of the door, on the lower part, are represented the dancers, and four dancing girls, who are animated by the sound of the double flute, which one of them plays. The dancers are clothed in a short light tunic, which leaves free play to their limbs, and the ladies' dress is at once airy and elegant, being a rich but slight robe, with a beautiful border embroidered in stars, and agitated to and fro by their rapid and fantastic movements. They have ornamented sandals on their feet, and chaplets hanging from their necks, while the men are bareheaded and barefooted. Their feet are twinkling about in rapid motion, and their extended hands beat time in the still scarcely obsolete Italian fashion, as an accompaniment. Between each dancer stands a tree of olive or myrtle, sacred to the dead. In the upper compartment all is bustle and preparation for a chariot race. The Circensian games are here in full activity. There are five chariots, some already starting, guided

by their charioteers, and some in the act of being yoked. At the end is the stand for spectators, with the awning folded back above, to be used if necessary, and having two stories; the one above for the more noble and distinguished spectators; the ladies being dressed in tunic and cloak, and with head-dresses, the men in mantle, without tunic; and the one below for company of inferior note. On the side of the wall opposite the entrance, the under compartment represents the funeral banquet, with three couches, and on each a man and woman leaning on rich cushions; the elegant dresses and highly ornamented furniture indicate the rank and wealth of the deceased. All are crowned with myrtle. Two are raising the goblet to their lips, while the rest are about to eat eggs, with which the Etruscans used to commence their repasts. There is the usual accompaniment of a flute player, and there are two youthful attendants, the one with a myrtle branch and the other with a goblet. Five ducks, an animal sacred to Bacchus, are waiting at the foot of the table for the crumbs. In the upper compartment there is a continuation of the stands, which we have described, on the other wall; but here, instead of chariot races, the spectators are entertained with various gymnastic exercises and games; such as wrestling, playing with the cestus, leaping, equestrian 'tours de force,' &c. Above these compartments there is a third subject, just beneath the vault of the roof, viz. a bracket surmounted by a large vase, on each side of which stand two women with dishevelled hair, one holding a small vase, the other a sacrificial instrument, as if about to pour out a libation. On each side of them is stretched a man, leaning on double cushions; the one bearded and crowned with myrtle, the other beardless and crowned with olive. On the wall to the left of the entrance, the under compartment represents a group of dancers, and the upper, gymnastic sports; such as boxing, throwing quoits, hurling the lance, and foot-races, all similar to those which have been already described on the other side. In this, as in the other painted tombs, besides the real door there were painted doors at the sides and at the upper end opposite the entrance; these were of a red colour, and studded with white spots, not unlike the heads of large nails."—p. 165.

This is only one of many that are found thus decorated. The paintings give us representations of the manners and domestic habits of those who lived more than two thousand years ago, and present to us every variety of subject and story, from the scene of household grief at the loss of a loved parent to that of riot and sensual enjoyment, which, by a strange anomaly, are, as we have seen, found depicted on the walls of these sepulchral chambers. A very remarkable tomb is that which has been called "*Grotta delle Inscrizione*," from the number of inscriptions which are engraved upon its

walls. The meaning of these it is as yet impossible to decipher. The characters are of the oldest Latin form, are read from right to left; but the language, of which they constitute the expression and the record, has been lost, and, like the characters of Persepolis, they are probably destined to remain a mystery for ever. In the time of Augustus it was understood only by a few; and even then some words were utterly unintelligible; and where the sc̄avans of Rome were at a loss, it would be presumption in us to expect to discover a meaning. It was in one of these tombs that Signore Avolto, a professional excavator, had for a few moments a glimpse of one of the ancient Lucumones. In the course of his labours he was exploring one of the tombs; on removing a few stones, he looked through the aperture to discover its contents, and behold! (it is a true story), extended in state before him, lay one of the mighty men of old. He saw him crowned with gold, clothed in his armour. His shield, and spear, and arrows were by his side, and the sleep of the warrior seemed to have been but of a day. But while the signore gazed in astonishment, a sudden change came over the scene; a slight tremor, like a passing breath of air, seemed to agitate the figure, it crumbled into dust, and disappeared. When an entrance was effected, the golden crown, some fragments of arms, and a few handfuls of dust were all that remained to mark the position in which it lay.

Many of the sepulchres, more especially those on the site of the ancient Agylla or Caere, were in the interiors of earthen hillocks, raised to some height above the ground. These barrows were surrounded on the outside by walls of stone, which went round each, and contained the doors leading into the different tombs. Above this wall the earth sloped gradually away, until it came nearly to a point on the top, which was generally surmounted by the figure of a lion. On the summit of the wall, in like manner, just where the earth began to slope, there were ranged, at short distances, figures of this description. In the centre of the barrow, but above the level of the tombs, to which access was to be had through the doors of the surrounding wall, was the tomb of the principal person, to whose memory it was erected, the lower apartments generally containing the remains of his followers, dependents, and, it may be, the members of his family. Such was the tomb at Agylla, generally termed by the English in Rome, General Galassi's grave,—not because the general was buried there, but because it was first dis-

covered and excavated by him, in conjunction with Father Regulini, the rector of the neighbouring village of Cervetri, —which no doubt the general thought much the more agreeable reason of the two. The interest of the excavation arises not so much from its construction, as from the curious and valuable remains of antiquity which have been discovered there. It presented, externally, the appearance of a natural hillock, to which, no doubt, it owed its preservation. The experienced eye of the antiquary soon detected its nature, and suspected the purposes to which it had been once applied. Around the base, after removing the earth, they soon came to the external wall, which, as we have before said, always surrounds an Etruscan tomb in its restored condition. This went all round the tomb, having doors in it at certain distances, leading to graves within. The graves consisted of three chambers each, connected together by short, narrow passages. These doors were in the Egyptian style of architecture. There were figures of lions and griffins on the cornice above the doors. Had our space permitted us, we should have extracted the entire account, as we at first intended, but find that we must content ourselves with a brief description. Suspecting that there must be another chamber, besides those already mentioned, they excavated from the top, until they came at a slope, which by steps led them down to a massive stone door, towards the centre of the barrow. On breaking this they came upon the expected prize. The portico led them into a chamber about ten feet square. Along the sides, and on a sort of shelf beneath the immense stones which formed the roof, were found ornamented shields of bronze. Mingled with them were arrows, a bundle of which lay close to a bier. This bier had four short feet, and was made of cross bars of bronze. It stood close to a walled-up door, the top of which was open; and in this were four vases, two of which were of silver. At the head and foot of the bier were small altars for sacrifice, surrounded each by a number of small images: some bones also were on the bier, and by its side lay a very curious inkstand, having upon it an alphabet of thirteen consonants and four vowels, repeated in syllables, like the first lessons of a primer. This latter is especially valuable, as forming the key to all we know of Etruscan inscriptions. Opposite the bier stood the small household carriage, in which the corpse had been conveyed to the grave, and the sides of which were ornamented with lions in bronze, in the style of early Greek workmanship.

One vase of bronze, for perfumes, also stood near the entrance, consisting of three globes, one above the other; near to which was something like a candelabra, and a tripod, for burning incense during the funeral ceremonies. But their discoveries did not terminate here. From this an entrance was effected into an inner, and a more curious, sepulchre. Here were vases of bronze, still hanging on the walls by nails; a tripod, containing a vase for perfumes; a large vase, ornamented with massive heads; some bronze vases of different forms, hanging from the roof; and, in a sort of recess at the end, were two large stones, about five feet from each other, on which had been placed the head and feet of the body buried there. Upon the stone next the end wall lay an extraordinary gold ornament, consisting of two disks, with animals carved upon them, and two gold fillets; and, sunk down below the stone, or half leaning upon it, was the superb golden breastplate already alluded to. On each side, where the wrists had once depended, lay broad golden bracelets, richly worked in relief, and below it lay a clasp composed of three spheres of gold, and at various distances between the stones were little lumps of the same metal, which had been probably interwoven with the dress of the deceased. Attached to the wall, behind the head, were two silver vessels, covered with Egyptian figures, and some vases, on which was inscribed the name of *Larthia*. From this name Mrs. Gray supposes—nay, takes for granted,—that the deceased was a woman. We think that this conclusion has been rather hastily come to. The termination of the word may lead to such an inference in Rome, though not necessarily even there; but in Etruria it is anything but certain; nay, if she looks at one of her previous descriptions of a painted tomb in Tarquinia, she will find that this very same name is written over one of the male figures on horseback. This tomb at Agylla is supposed by competent judges to have been constructed many years before the fall of Troy, which event took place eleven hundred years before the Christian era. It was constructed before the invention of the arch, for the architects seem as if they would have made an arch in many places if they could; and it must have been made before the custom of burning the bodies of the dead was known, or even the more ancient mode of inclosing the remains in a sarcophagus had been devised.

We shall now bring before our readers another species of sepulchre, one more immediately connecting Etruria with the

East than any we have yet seen. After leaving Agylla, our authoress went to visit the monuments which were said to be visible at Castel d'Asso, and which have been hitherto almost unknown to the literati of Europe. It is believed, with much probability, to be the site of the ancient Voltumna, the precise position of which has been hitherto unknown, and which was the great gathering place of the Etruscan chiefs. Here it was that their great national assembly was held every year, for all purposes, whether of politics or religion, if, at these early times, a distinction can be drawn between them. Here, too, was the temple of Voltumna, the protecting divinity of their race and country, though the precise spot on which it stood can be no longer ascertained, if it be not that on which the oratory of San Giovanni now stands, and which has from time immemorial been a place of devotion to all the neighbouring country. The monuments at Castel D'Asso bear a strong resemblance to those of the Egyptian kings at "Biban el Melek," near Thebes, and consist of two rows of sepulchral chambers, cut out of the solid rock. These chambers face each other, like the sides of a long and magnificent street, and extend about a mile on each side of the steep valley, in the middle of which rise the rock and castle from which it derives its name. They would be like the tombs of Petra, described by Laborde, but for the sculptured figures with which the latter are adorned. Unlike that of Petra, where not a blade of grass is to be seen, the valley of Castel D'Asso is so overrun with trees and underwood that the ruins are not immediately perceived, and Mrs. Gray was at first about to turn back in despair;—but we shall allow her to describe her feelings on the occasion.

"We walked on about twenty yards, and then sat down to try and make out if there really was anything remarkable within our view. We walked on twenty more, and then began to copy what we saw. We walked on twenty more, and we fairly fell into extacies worthy of Orioli or Marini, or any other scavant who may have written upon Castel d'Asso. They [meaning her guides] had their revenge. 'Ay,' said one guide, 'this is just the way Signor Dodwell went on. He was a learned Englishman, who visited this place twenty years ago. He at first saw nothing, and then he began to draw, and then he measured, and then he talked, and then he held up his hands like you!'

"We condescended at last to approach these rocks, that we might examine them more closely, and found beneath each engraved door if I may use the expression, an open one, six or eight feet lower,

which led into the burial chamber. It would appear that these cavern mouths had formerly been covered up with earth; and that nothing remained above ground but the smooth face of the rock, with its false Egyptian door and narrow cornice. We entered several of these sepulchres. Of those we did enter the greater part consisted of a single low chamber, and the roof was hewn out of the rock, and was either vaulted or flat; some consisted of two chambers, the inner one being lower than the outer. Almost all, if not every one of these caverns, had a ledge round it; sometimes grooved, for vases or other ornaments, at others merely for sarcophagi; and in some instances with stones laid across the ledge, on which the uncoffined body had been placed, like the grave of the Larthia, at Agylla. The further we advanced, and the more we saw, the stronger was the impression which these caverns made upon us, and the more solemn and exalted became our ideas, as to the grand and magnificent conception which had first dedicated them to the memories of those whose fame they were intended to render immortal. We met with two or three that were very little injured. They were large and perfect in form, and deeply hewn, and we thought them truly noble monuments from their very simplicity. About a quarter of a mile from where we had first detected the hand of art, we began to perceive deep regular lines of inscription in the rocks. The letters were a foot high, and sometimes chiselled two inches deep in the stone; they were all in the oldest Etruscan character, and evidently intended to be read at a distance, perhaps even from the other side of the valley. We were shown one or two, which on account of the difficulty of access we did not attempt to enter, but which have an upper chamber above the vault, ascended by a spiral staircase cut in the rock. In the inside of some we saw the remains of a very narrow cornice, cut in the stone, and going all round beneath the roof; and in one of them the roof itself had some ornamental squares. The fortress is seen from all the tombs that we entered; and, indeed, even commanded and protected the sacred gorge. We could not help thinking it probable that the sepulchres in this glen were all the tombs of noted warriors, laid in front of the castle. Those of the centre might be of kings and statesmen, those nearer the temple of high-priests. These valleys of hallowed dust, these cliffs which were supposed to eternize the names and deeds of the mighty, whose spirits had fled, give rise to noble ideas; and so much did they grow upon us the more we considered them;—and so profound was the impression they left, that at this moment I feel as I did before we set off to visit them, that I had rather have seen the glens of Castel d'Asso than any other spot in Europe, except Rome."

These extracts may give the reader some idea of these monuments of an extinct people; and even those who may not have it in their power to consult the original work of Mrs.

Gray, and the plates by which it is illustrated, will admit that they are well entitled to the attention of the learned world. Even previously to the discovery of these remarkable remains, the Etruscans occupied a distinguished place in early European history; and the evidence which these monuments present of their civilization and refinement, has but deepened the interest with which we regard a people so singular, powerful, and enlightened, as they must once have been. They must have had a literature, or at least a written language, if we are to judge from their remains; they must have been wealthy and luxurious, if we may infer from the representations depicted on their walls; their streets must once have been lined with the busy hum of industry and commerce; and we know that their sway extended from Genoa to Venice, and from Naples to the Alps. What was their origin? How were their wealth and knowledge acquired? And how has that knowledge been subsequently destroyed, and destroyed so utterly, as to leave scarcely a memorial behind, save those which the persevering zeal of the speculator and the antiquary have extracted from their tombs?

There is no part of ancient history more obscure than the migrations of those early races of men, by which the world was first possessed and peopled. The origin of the Etruscans, as of the others, can at best be nothing but a plausible conjecture. The traditions of the Greeks would derive them from the Pelasgians, and thus claim their civilization as kindred to its own. In early times, long before the Trojan war, traditionary legends would say, there dwelt in Greece, a peaceful and industrious race of men; a branch they were of a wide-spread people who possessed the countries northward to the Danube. Quiet and unwarlike in their habits, they preferred agricultural labour to the excitement and peril of war; and would rather derive subsistence from the fertility of the soil, than extort it by force, from the weakness and timidity of others. What Manco Capac was to the Peruvians, the Pelasgi were to the original inhabitants. They made them acquainted with the mysteries of agriculture; they taught them to sow the seed, to reap the corn, to gather and to save the produce, to know the fitting times and seasons, to prevent the mountain stream from carrying desolation through their fields, and from being a minister of destruction, to make it even an agent of fertility. Their quiet and industrious habits, coupled with their unskilfulness in war, made them more than once a prey to their more savage neighbours, and compelled them

so often to abandon their well-tilled fields and seek more peaceful settlements elsewhere, that their very name became synonymous with wanderer, and was used to designate the man who had neither a home nor a residence in the land. A branch of this wandering people, the legend says, set sail for the shores of Italy; and after many perils by sea and land, despite the opposition of the natives, and after many a reverse of fortune, succeeded at length in finding a resting-place in the territory of the Siculi. They built the cities of Agylla and Pisa, Saturnia and Alsin, and sowed the seeds of that future eminence, which was attained by their successors and conquerors the Etruscans. This vague tradition does not assume the consistency of history, but supported as it is by the testimony of later times, and by the monuments of remote antiquity which Agylla itself affords, it will justify us in asserting that the Pelasgian migration into Italy, must be something more than a legend, and that this city must have been among the original seats of Etrurian civilization; that before the Trojan war it must have attained a considerable degree of refinement, and prior to the domination of the Etruscans, was probably inherited by an earlier race of people. But our purpose is with the Etruscans. By some, and more especially the Greek writers, they have been confounded with the Tyrrhenians, from whom they were altogether distinct. The Romans called them indiscriminately Etrusi and Tusci, and their country Etruria. By themselves they were called Rasenæ, and their country Rasena. Pliny derives their origin from the Rhetian Alps, while others would have us believe, that the course of their migration was in an opposite direction. Müller and Micali, with much ingenuity, suppose them to have been an aboriginal people of the Apennines, who, abandoning their mountain homes, established themselves in the valleys of the Tiber and the Arno, and thence, after having become a powerful and enlightened and numerous people, to have colonized the rich plains of Lombardy, and extended their sway to the Alps. Between these opposite and conflicting statements, supported, respectively, by some of the greatest names of ancient and modern times, it is impossible to ascertain the truth. When they do come within the domain of history, they are found in occupation of the best and richest part of central Italy; constituting several great federal republics; one in northern Italy, another between the Tiber and the Arno, in what we may call Etruria proper; and another to the south of Rome, though the

existence of the latter is denied by Niebuhr. Each of these republics was independent of the other, and was itself subdivided into twelve divisions, or cantons; for we may convey our meaning more clearly by employing a modern illustration. Each of these cantons consisted of a principal city, and of several dependencies; and was subject to a chief magistrate, elected for a term of years, and by the suffrages of the people. He is known by the peculiarly Etruscan term of *Lucumo*. The cities of the confederacy on the right bank of the Tiber are better known by our classical readers. They are those which have been visited by Mrs. Gray, and are intimately connected with the history of Rome. The Etruscan power, in its greatest extent, (which is supposed to have been at the time of the Roman monarchy), comprehended the greatest part of central Italy. The cantons at the foot of the Alps are said to have been connected with those of Campania by an unbroken chain of tributary principalities. The Etruscan fleets were not unfrequent visitors in Ionian Greece, and in the cities of the Nile; while from Sicily to Gibraltar, they had no rivals but those of Carthage. The commerce of the western coasts of the Mediterranean was engrossed by these two maritime powers, and the Greeks have preserved the memory of several commercial treaties, which were in all probability directed chiefly against themselves. The establishment of the Greek colonies in Sicily, and on the western side of the Italian peninsula, enabled them first to compete with, and then to undermine, the Etruscan superiority by sea. It seems never to have recovered the loss sustained in the naval victory obtained by the Greeks at Cumæ, and after a brief struggle to have resigned its legitimate commercial character, and to have sunk into that of privateers. Their rivalry and the subsequent defeat of the Etruscans, had their source in the jealousy of their commercial interests. Each power was anxious to crush the other. However extensive may have been the intercourse of the trading nations of antiquity, their commerce was never conducted on those enlarged, and, if we may use the word, Catholic principles, which it is the just pride of modern times to discover, and however partially as yet, to some extent at least to act on. The commerce of Tyre, and Carthage, and Etruria, and Greece, was, as far as the respective powers could make it, a strict monopoly. They would permit none else, if possible, to share it with them. The ports frequented by their traders, and the sources of their wealth, were, as far as in them lay, a mystery to the

nations. No eye but their own was to see where their mines of gold, and tin, and silver lay, or to search the deep from which their amber was extracted. The "El Dorado" was only to be arrived at through the perils of many a stormy sea, and by braving the fury of many a dragon and monster dire, that kept its watchful guard over the charge committed to it. The golden apples of the Hesperides were to be won only by valour and perseverance more than human. The commerce of the ancient world was professedly exclusive. It would have no traders but its own; no merchandize but what was freighted in its own vessels; these traders must have the market entirely in their own hands, and buy and sell at their own prices alone. Acting on this principle, the Etruscans wished to destroy the commerce of the Greeks, by the destruction of their settlements in Sicily. Failing in that attempt, and probably overrating their own strength, they were vanquished and crushed themselves, and had their commercial existence destroyed, by the operation of the very same principles of monopoly and exclusiveness, by which they themselves were governed, and impelled.

The remains of Etruscan art will enable us to trace their progress as a people. In the rude simplicity and massiveness of some of their architectural remains, may, we think, be traced the work of those who introduced the first knowledge of the arts. The similarity of style and construction would class them with those remains which are found in Greece, which are discovered in Thessaly and Epirus, and which, by general tradition, are said to have been the work of the Pelasgi. These remains, which Sir William Gell has traced along the line of the Etruscan cities, are undoubtedly the work of those who first introduced the knowledge of the arts into Western Europe. The tomb of Atreus, at Mycenæ, seems to have been built by the same people who erected the tomb at Agylla. The advantages of their position must have necessarily directed their attention to nautical pursuits. The remembrance of their early voyaging can not have vanished from their minds; and we thus find, that, in very early times, they are bold and adventurous navigators of the seas. The success of their first efforts, and the wealth with which their enterprise was rewarded, must have stimulated them still further to exertion, and excited many of the neighbouring cities to an honourable rivalry of gain. How far this advance in nautical skill is to be attributed to the Etruscans, or their predecessors in the occupation of the land,

it is not, at this distance of time, and with our imperfect means of information, possible to ascertain. The frequency of their intercourse with Egypt may be inferred from the strong infusion of Egyptian art which is visible in all their more ancient remains. Even though we admit that its first development was owing to the intellectual vigour of the people, still there cannot be a doubt that its after-studies were formed in an Egyptian model. To Egypt belong the numerous sarcophagi, the scarabei or beetles of gold and precious stones, which were always objects of veneration in the latter country. The style of architecture, too, has evidently had its origin on the banks of the Nile. The paintings of Tarquinia are in the manner of colouring similar to those on the tombs of the kings, near Thebes; and the admission of females to their banquets, on terms of social equality, are peculiar to Egypt and Etruria alone. The very construction of the door is that by which an oriental artist would secure the sepulchre from intrusion, as may be seen in Thebes, and in those which are called the tombs of the sons of David, near Jerusalem. This Egyptian character is so strongly manifested in the productions of Etrurian art, that the impression made on the minds of those who see them for the first time is that they are admitted to a collection of Egyptian antiquities. But this Egyptian character is not found in all, and least in those of later times. If we have the sarcophagus and scarabeus, and the images of Osiris and Horus, we have also the illustrations of Grecian story, and the fables of its mythology; we have the story of Cædipus and the sphynx, and the expedition of the Argonauts, and many an inscription in Grecian letters and language bearing testimony to the country of the artist. These vases and works of art are precisely similar in shape to those which once were made at Corinth, and which, after the destruction of the city, were dug out of the sepulchres by the Roman colonists established on its ruins. These pieces of art were purchased by the curious in ancient Rome at exorbitant prices, as those of Tarquinia and Veii are by the curious and wealthy of our time. The date of this great improvement in the arts must have been contemporary with the Roman monarchy, which was also the most brilliant period of Etruscan sway. The intercourse of Etruria with Greece was frequent, when wealthy citizens of the latter country, like Demeratus, the father of Tarquin, took refuge there when driven from their own by violence, and the contempla-

tion of the matchless productions of Grecian art served to enkindle the zeal and to correct the taste of their artists. We meet several instances of Greek artists having been employed in Etruria and in Rome, and the influence they exerted was eminently salutary. Greece was at this time becoming a noble school for the artist. To Egypt was she also indebted for the elements of her civilization and the rudiments of the arts ; but on the banks of the Ilyssus and the shores of the Ægean they found a more genial home. Art came to the shores of Greece arrayed in the uncouth habiliments of Egyptian symbolism, stiff and distorted, from the monstrous and unnatural forms which it had been compelled to assume, and chilled by its connexion with the sarcophagus and the tomb ; but the quick, imaginative genius of the Greek soon set the captive free. From the gloom of the temple, and the loneliness of the sepulchre, she was led by her votary abroad in the bright gleam of the summer sun, and by the brink of many a crystal stream and fountain, and was worshipped in the still repose of many a wooded dale, and was induced to shed her graces on the light enjoyments of the domestic hearth, and by his own fireside, and, in the very seclusion of his home, to become the handmaid of his happiness and refinement. Art was not, as in Egypt, the servile minister of a crushing despotism, or the organ of a gloomy superstition, leading, by the majesty and power of its creations men's hearts and souls away from the best impulses of nature and the rights of social life. In Greece it was an active and useful element of society ; and as it was the record and the monument, so was it among the sources, of some of its noblest achievements. The humblest citizen could look forward to the day when his name too would be inscribed on the chronicles of his country, when the memory of his deeds would be preserved on the canvas, or engraved on the marble. As he passed along the streets, or repaired to scenes of public festivity or private relaxation, the monuments of departed excellence were ever before him. The image of the patriot of other times looked on approvingly from its pedestal, and even the lips which moved not sent forth their mute encouragement. Theirs was a noiseless eloquence, which supported the sufferer in his country's cause, which discoursed sweet music to him in the hour of his darkest despondency ; when his heart was heaving within him with the bitter feeling of injustice, when his actions were misconstrued, his motives suspected, or, like the virtuous

Aristides, he became the injured victim of popular envy, the sustaining influence of Art came soothingly over his soul, supporting him in the hour of his adversity, cheering his sinking spirits, and, like a herald from on high, telling him of other times and of other men who would do justice to his character.

In Etruria it would have exercised the same influence, and been productive of the same results, had not the national mind been more akin to that of Egypt. We find traces of the same serenity of thought, of the same national gravity of character, of the same gloomy massiveness—to use the word—of the public taste. Etruscan art seems never to have completely emancipated herself from the thralldom of Egypt, and, to her very latest development, to bear the impress of her dependence. All her great public works seem to speak of the subjection of the masses of the people, by whose toil they were constructed, and are but echoes of that sepulchral voice, which, in a grander scale and in louder accents, is addressed to us from the pyramids of Cairo and the palaces of Carnak.

If we strip the Grecian mythology of some of its most fanciful and legendary stories, we shall have an idea of what the Etruscan divinities were in times of old;—we shall have their gods, but under different names. Who would recognize his old acquaintances Jupiter, Juno, Venus, and Mercury, under the strange Etruscan names of Tina and Talne, Turan and Turms? The latter name is evidently the Hermes of the Greeks. The Egyptian mythos also was substantially the same, though the names and symbolical representation of the respective deities were widely different; and was, in all probability, the parent stock from which the others were derived. The religious rites and ceremonies of the Etruscan worship are known to us through the medium of the Roman ceremonial, the latter having been avowedly derived therefrom, and formed on the Etruscan model. The practice of augury, or divining by the flight of birds, was also Etruscan. This people were deeply imbued with a feeling of moral responsibility. The paintings in the chambers of Tarquinia, are conclusive evidence of their belief in a judgment to come,—and in a future state of rewards and punishments. One painting represents a procession of souls to judgment, conducted by good and evil genii. Some of these souls are light and cheerful in the consciousness of innocence; others seem afflicted with the apprehension of approaching calamity. The tears are seen to flow as the evil genius brings to the mind the tor-

turing remembrance of the deeds done in the flesh. This evil genius is represented with almost a Christian accuracy of outline: the artist has given him, as did probably the general belief, a negro configuration of countenance, and a more than negro darkness of colour; while round his temples is coiled a serpent, the head of which is brought close to the ear of the individual whom the evil genius is addressing. Another evil genius, yet more black and ugly, has his eyes depicted as very coals of fire. They are conducted by a good genius, whose colour and appearance are quite the opposite of the others. These paintings are done in fresco, and in an excellent style of art: they are especially valuable, as telling us how clear a conception this people must have had of a future judgment. This great fragment of the primitive tradition seems to have been carefully preserved among them. A few, in the pride of their intelligence, may have disputed and denied its truth, as they subsequently did in Rome; and as many, in the pride of their philosophy, have done at the present day, mistaking, for the prejudices of education, what was but the witnessing of the Divine voice within them; but the great body of the people always retained some sense of their future responsibility. With their incorrect sense of moral duty, it could have had but little moral influence; but an influence of some extent it must have had and exercised. To the partial influence of this belief are generally ascribed those virtues of the natural order which distinguished the old Roman character. They were indebted for them to this maxim of their religion, which in its definite form they borrowed from the Etruscans. But while acknowledging the purity of their belief in this great truth, we must admit, that they are strongly suspected of mingling with their religious rites, the horrible and revolting practice of human sacrifices. This abominable rite was probably introduced among them from their intercourse with Carthage, where it prevailed in its foulest enormity; though it may not improbably be assigned to the frequency of their intercourse with the people of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, where the rites of the Canaanite superstition were practised, and where every grove and altar was stained with the abominable crime of Moloch.

The Etruscans were wealthy, and wealth creates in its owners many wants of which they would not otherwise be susceptible. Their remains disclose to us many of the contrivances by which a wealthy and a luxurious people are wont to gratify their desires of amusement and relaxation.

They were skilled in all the well-known games of the circus. The numerous combinations and varieties of horse and chariot racing were not unknown among them. One of their vases gives us a perfect racing sketch. We see depicted thereon—the race-stand, the judges, the sporting gentlemen of the day, the jockeys, “*et hoc genus omne*,” as if the artist had taken for his subject the race-course of Epsom or Doncaster. Boar hunting was also a favourite amusement, as we may see by another sketch, where sportsmen are seen in all the ardour of the chase; dogs, seemingly in full cry, and crowds of peasants, armed with axes and poles, hastily seized on the occasion. They are said to have had two principal meals in the day; and to have admitted the fair sex to an equal participation in the honours of the dining-table. This singular deviation from the practice of antiquity is found only in Etruria and Egypt: it is brought very vividly before us in one of their paintings, where persons of both sexes are at table together. One of the ladies is in the act of breaking an egg; another is eating some food, while a dog is looking up in anxious expectancy for a portion. On these festive occasions, the ladies seem to have been far more attentive to the quality, than the quantity of their habiliments:—some of them appear quite at their ease, in a costume which would make ladies of the present time, to say the least of it, exceedingly uncomfortable. The guests were entertained with concerts of instrumental music. The lyre was in much request, as was also an instrument bearing a close resemblance to a double flageolet. To the music of those instruments a company of dancers keep time with their feet and hands. Some of these are represented in most lively and animated gestures; but, we regret to add, that some of the representations confirm the accounts which early writers transmit to us, concerning the corruption and licentiousness of many of their festive entertainments. They had also periodical assemblies for the arrangement of their public business, as well as for general amusement. One of the most celebrated of these was the gathering of the noble families at the temple of Voltumna. Scenic representations were also in use, and a singular custom prevailed among them of permitting insolvent debtors to be pursued in the streets by groups of children, with empty purses in their hands, who worried the wretched pauper by the demand of money.

That they had a written language is evident from their numerous inscriptions, of which several may be seen in Sir

William Gell's work on the topography of Rome, and a few in the volume of our authoress. They are read from the right to the left, but, as we before remarked, are utterly unintelligible, with the exception of a few oft repeated words,—such as the affecting and almost Christian termination to all their monumental inscriptions, “Adieu in peace,” or “Rest in peace.” The only other specimen of their language which has reached our times, are those tables of brass which were dug up near Gubbio, and which are thence called the Eugubine tables; but which, like their sepulchral inscriptions, cannot be deciphered. The sculptured inkstand which was discovered at Agylla has, we believe, been found of use, in ascertaining the power and nature of the characters, and in enabling them to be copied in Roman characters, but beyond this, notwithstanding the anticipations of Mrs. Gray, we do not see that it can possibly be of utility. What pretensions they had to the possession of a literature we cannot now ascertain. It is a misfortune that they have left no historian to record their achievements, or to chronicle their deeds, for the information of after times; but it is a misfortune which it is now useless to deplore. They have left us much “engraved in the hard rock with a pen of iron,” but we need a Daniel to discover their import and reveal it to the world. Their history has been an eventful one; it has been diversified with many trying incidents by sea and land. How different would have been their fame, had there been a Virgil or a Homer to surround them with a halo of light, or a Thucydides to consecrate them with the immortality of genius! The record of the marble, imperishable as it is, forms but a poor substitute for the undying record of a nation's literature. The sepulchral eulogy of the Lucumones, the sculptured obelisk of the Pharaohs, or the mysterious chronicles of the Persian kings, as seen on the ruins of Persepolis, have not been able to preserve their names and deeds from the ravages of time. They cannot compete with that lustre which the human mind is able to impart to the hero it embellishes, in the action it records. Etruscan literature has left us no trace of its existence. The industry of a few Roman writers attempted to supply this deficiency, and the emperor Claudius deemed Etruria a theme not unworthy his imperial pen. But the twenty-four books which were the fruit of his labour, have perished, with the exception of one solitary fragment, and the writings of the less noble penmen have not been more enduring than those of their sovereign. The stream of time has

washed over them all, and with them have disappeared our fullest sources of information as to the origin and history of the Etruscans.

There is a point in connexion with this subject to which our authoress has not alluded, but which is well deserving of attention. The Campagna in which the cities of Etruria lay, and which was once crowded with a dense and industrious population, is now visited for some months of the year by a pestilential malaria, which is destructive of human life, and which makes even the natives desert it for a season. The few shepherds, who remain in charge of the cattle, may be known by their wan and emaciated features; for even they are not exempt from its influence. Yet was this country once the abode of a numerous population, and covered with busy and thickly peopled cities. Veii was as large as Rome, and the size of Tarquinia may, to some extent, be inferred from the magnitude of its necropolis, which is said to contain no less than two millions of sepulchres. But there can be little doubt that the climate of the Campagna is not now the same as it was in times of old. Had it been then as subject to the malaria as it is at present, the fact would have been mentioned by some of the Roman writers. Yet, while they expressly mention the unhealthiness of particular districts, they are silent on that of the entire country. The virulence of the malaria, nay, its existence, arises from the absence of moisture, for while the wet grounds are comparatively free from it, the dry and sandy downs are particularly unhealthy. Not alone in the Campagna di Roma, but in every country in Europe subject to its influence, a wet summer is proved to neutralize its noxious properties. It is probable that the climate of Italy, two thousand years ago, was more exposed to cold and wet than it is now. The uncleared forests of Germany, and of Italy itself, must have contributed powerfully to this effect, by preventing evaporation from the surface of the earth, as in America at this day. The temperature and the dryness of the atmosphere depend much less on the degree of latitude than on local peculiarities, which are always liable to change. Many of the rivers of Europe which at one time were frozen every winter, are now never closed up for a day. So late as the time of the Roman empire, the barbarians were wont each winter to avail themselves of the freezing of the Danube and the Rhine, to make predatory incursions on the northern provinces;—and Pliny says, that the severity of winter was such in Rome, that the olive could not be cultivated in the open air.

Nothing is more usual, at the present day, than to see the olive growing in the open air in the vicinity of Rome. But even admitting it to have been as unhealthy as now, is it certain that, despite its unhealthiness, it could not be thickly peopled? It was the native soil of the millions who dwelt there. It was the air they were from infancy accustomed to inhale; and from the power of habit it is likely that the malaria would have lost much of its malignity. The shores of Africa are unhealthy beyond comparison, as are the islands of the West Indies, yet these are not the less thickly peopled. Even the collieries and manufactories of England are known to shorten considerably the average duration of human life, yet are there thousands who are willing to brave all dangers, and to encounter, for subsistence, the perils of the factory and the mine. Peculiarities of diet and of dress, with which we are not now acquainted, may have been of use in enabling the inhabitants to defy its noxious influence; and much, also, may have been done by the general cultivation of the soil and the spread of human dwellings. Were its rich plains to be divided among a hardy and industrious peasantry, and covered with crops of golden grain, its effects on the human constitution might be very different from that of the present dreary solitude.

We have seen that the Etruscan power included nearly the entire of central Italy, and extended from Naples to the Alps. There was a time too, though not acknowledged by her chronicles, when Rome itself was numbered among its dependencies. It is now the most probable opinion, that the reigns of the three later kings was a period of Etruscan domination; and it may be, that even these kings are, as Müller suppose, but representatives of three Etruscan dynasties, who succeeded each other in regular order. It was during this period that those great architectural works were executed, whose magnitude and solidity have scarcely been exceeded by the later works of the empire. The *Cloaca Maxima*, which may be called the "Thames tunnel" of the ancient world; the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitoline hill; the walls of Servius, which continued to be the walls of the city for eight hundred years, down to the time of Aurelian; all combine to demonstrate the power and extent to which it attained under Etruscan sway. They are collateral testimony to the certainty of that evidence which their sepulchral monuments afford. But like every earthly institution, Etruria was doomed to decay. In the arrangements of Providence it was to give way to its more

fortunate rival. Its maritime strength was destroyed by its defeat at Cumæ; its internal strength was wasted away by internal disunion, as well as by outward hostility. When the Gauls poured forth from the defiles of the Alps, in the northern cantons of the Etruscan confederation, the southern states were solicited for aid, but the appeal was made in vain, and one half of Etruria was for ever blotted from the page of history. The other continued to maintain an unequal contest with the encroaching power of Rome. The name of Porsenna alone stands out in bright relief from the darkness that hangs over his people, and surrounds with a passing glory the period of their decline. The cities of Veii, and Tarquinia, and Clusium, and Agylla, sunk one by one; Roman colonies occupied their ruins for a time; some preserve a sickly existence over the graves of the Lartia and the Lucumones; but the sites of others are no longer known. They are looked for in vain through the dreary solitude of the Campagna, and save the sepulchral remains of their past greatness, Tarquinia is but a name, and Veii but a recollection of the past.

We have done with the sepulchres of Etruria; but before we close this article we cannot forbear extracting one brief passage, in which our authoress contrasts the practical influence of the Catholic and Protestant religion in their followers. In the entire volume there are but two or three casual expressions from which we could infer that her religious convictions are decidedly opposed to the former.

"Many and many an accomplished and highly educated Englishman speaks and acts as if Christianity had nothing to do with his future being; and this, because while he is instructed in all other things, religion forms no part of his education. In the common intercourse of high life, Christianity is treated as a very respectable set of customs; but it is considered to be as little of a reality, and as truly a superstition, as any of the notions of the heathen. Amongst our masses in low life, on the other hand, the meaning of Christianity is scarcely known; and I have often wondered if numbers of them had ever heard of another life, or had any conception that they possessed within themselves a part which would never die; a spirit which has existed in essence the self-same thing, through every tongue and nation under heaven, from Adam until now. In Israel, Greece, and Rome, this spirit speaks to us in its loftiest strains by writing; in Egypt and Etruria in accents little less sublime, by the chisel and the graver. It ought to answer in each one of us by the voice of conscience; and will not the men and women of these monuments rise up in judgment against us at

the last day, if, with all our light, we make no more intimate acquaintance with heaven than they did? These reflections were forced upon me by what I saw in the house of a Roman Catholic priest; and whilst I looked at him in his peculiar dress I could not but acknowledge that however much I might differ from him in many points of faith, these remarks did certainly not apply to Catholics. They are not ashamed to profess, loudly and publicly, upon every occasion, that they are not, and cannot, be saved like the heathen; that their dependence is not upon themselves and their own merits, but upon another, and upon that which may have merit as done upon his account. Even the fiercest Protestant must admit that in this matter even the most mistaken Roman Catholic is sounder than many of ourselves, and that however the Roman Catholic Church has hid 'the oil and wine' of the Scriptures, it has never put them away. I have known many Protestants among our fashionables, who were ashamed to go to church on a Sunday, though they made every allowance for such an observance in their guests; and I have known others who would attend divine service in a particular chapel, for the sake of setting a good example, though unless the thing was good in itself I never could understand how the example was to benefit; but I never knew a Roman Catholic who did not go to mass; and I never heard one boast afterwards of having done so as an act of self-denial. The Protestant constantly feels that he is attending a religious service of no use; whilst the Roman Catholic is convinced that when he performs what he calls 'an act of faith in Jesus,' he is performing an act for his own peculiar and personal benefit."

Would that every tourist were animated with similar feelings of candour and impartiality, and disposed thus to give honour where honour is due, and the meed of praise where that praise is deserved. We have gone with Mrs. Gray through five hundred pages of a narrative equally instructive and interesting, pleased with her antiquarian zeal, profiting by her judicious and often profound observations, and amused with the lighter incidents which she occasionally relates. Should she venture before the public again, we should with much pleasure hail her appearance amongst us. She is an authoress of much promise, and literature has a claim on her services.

ART. VIII.—*Address of the Loyal National Association to the People of Ireland.* Dublin: September 1842.

OF the five objects for which Mr. O'Connell has lately proposed to his countrymen to agitate, we look upon that with regard to the fixity of tenure to be the most easily attainable, through the Imperial Parliament, and calculated to effect the greatest amount of good, in the shortest time, for the mass of the population. There are few Irish Catholics who are not convinced that the repeal of the Union would be the greatest possible blessing to their country—but few of them, in the present aspect of affairs, consider it speedily attainable. Every dispassionate disinterested man must see that before Ireland can know internal peace, before Irishmen can cease squabbling about points of faith, and combine, like reasonable human beings, for the common good of their country and themselves—that source of all their woes—that symbol of their disunion and degradation, the Established Church, must be abolished. But when or how that consummation shall be obtained, it would be now difficult to determine. The amendment of the Poor-law and of the laws with regard to the municipal system, are topics of so secondary a character, as scarce to deserve to be mentioned in conjunction with the above. To the four last subjects we may possibly advert on future occasions; for the present we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of the first.

We would, above all things, impress upon those who wish to effect, through the Imperial Parliament, a practical improvement—and in the shortest possible time—in the condition of the mass of the Irish people, that they must turn their thoughts to such means as will not meet with the decided hostility of the English portion of that body. They must not dwell on justice, humanity, and policy, in the abstract, but say to Englishmen, “Such was the condition of your own countrymen some years back, and such were the measures you adopted to improve it; and all we ask of you is, to try the same with us.” It is utterly useless to expect that Englishmen can ever be induced by classic euphuisms about their own iniquity in the misgovernment of this country, and the wisdom and policy of treating her according to the dictates of common sense, humanity, and justice, to subvert any of the settled principles of the laws of property, or civil liberty, or to violate any of the great landmarks of what is called the Constitution. All that we should aim at ought to be to

endeavour to induce them to give our countrymen the full benefit of the principles of the common law and the constitution, and the provisions of the English statute-book, and to adopt towards them the same measures which they adopted for the protection of their own countrymen. We can ask more when we are in a position to demand it.

On comparing the present state of this country with the state of England during the latter part of the fifteenth, and the entire of the sixteenth century, we are struck with the extraordinary similarity which presents itself. In England there was the same misery and the same want of employment, arising from the same cause: the same hostility to the established law, and the same spirit of outrage, which now characterize the peasantry of Ireland. There they lived, in like wretched hovels, or, driven from them, wandered about in the same state of homeless indigence. There, as here now, they sought a redress of their grievances by agrarian insurrections and rebellions. There they broke down inclosures, for the same purpose as here they dig up the pastures. But there a paternal legislature having at length interfered for their protection, and given them that relief to which they were entitled, industry, plenty, and order, succeeded to idleness, poverty, and outrage; and famished rebels became well-fed and loyal subjects.

There are few of our readers who are not aware that all the agrarian insurrections in Ireland are the result of the extravagant powers of oppression conceded by the law to the landlords—and of the heartless and reckless manner in which those powers are exercised;—who have not heard of the course of depopulation, pursued in that country for years, under the title of the Clearing System—and who, perhaps, also, have not heard all the barbarian atrocities of that system justified on the pretext, that as the law gave the land to the landlords, they ought not be prevented from converting it to what uses they pleased; “as every man has a right to do what he likes with his own.” We shall show what was thought and done on the subject in England, when Englishmen were the victims of the same course of oppression.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, a system of depopulation was commenced in England, and carried to as great an extent as has been of late years attempted in Ireland. The causes which led to it were various. In preceding times, as every nobleman's importance depended not so much on his wealth or the extent of his estates, as on the number of his

tenantry, and their ability and willingness to support him in his quarrels, he spared no means to increase their numbers, and to attach them to him and his family by kind treatment. Hence every estate was cut up into the utmost possible number of small farms, each just merely sufficient, by good cultivation, to support a family in comfort. The wars of the Roses, and the forfeitures arising from them, made many estates to change masters. The new owners, of course, could not have the same feelings of attachment towards the tenantry as the former had; or they perhaps looked upon them with hate and suspicion, as the hereditary adherents of those to whose property they had no better title than success in battle, fortified by legal forms. The change in the law with regard to the opening of entails, transferred also many estates to new owners by devise or purchase. The importance of numerous retainers was also daily diminishing, while the rise of woollen manufactures at home and in the Netherlands increased the price of wool, and made the rearing of sheep more profitable than the raising of corn. These and some other causes led the great proprietors to *clear* their estates, *i. e.* to drive off the tenantry, level their houses, and convert their well-tilled gardens into sheepwalks. These pastures were commonly known by the name of *inclosures*, a phrase, of which, as it will frequently recur in the course of this paper, we may here give a brief explanation. As in preceding times, from the smallness of the farms, it was necessary to keep them in tillage for the purpose of raising provisions enough for each family, and the cattle of all the tenants of the estate grazed upon the one common, the several farms were not divided, or *inclosed*, by walls or hedges, as in England or Ireland now, but were merely distinguished from each other by some known marks or bounds, as still continues the practice in France and other parts of the continent. The result of this arrangement was, that no one tenant could convert his tillage into pasture without going to the expense of *inclosing* his farm with a wall or hedge, to prevent his cattle from trespassing on his neighbours, and that, consequently, all the farms were kept in tillage; and that now, when it was desired to convert them into pasture, it was necessary to *inclose* them. The phrase was used also to express the encroachments on the ancient commons, made by means of walls or inclosures. This system of depopulation was soon carried to such an extent, and produced so much misery, that John Rous, the celebrated monk and antiquary of Warwick, presented a

petition to parliament in 1450 against it, and was afterwards induced to continue his *History of the Kings of England* by the desire to denounce and repress it,* and that he mentions the names of sixty-five towns and hamlets, within twelve miles or a little more of the town of Warwick, which had been already destroyed.† This system, he says, threatened to become the ruin of the kingdom: he compares the authors of it to basilisks, as they destroy everything they look on, and make all a desert around them, and infers, that as the law hangs up thieves, so God would chastise those “destroyers of towns,” by dreadful calamities here or eternal punishment hereafter.‡ He quotes several passages from the civil law against the depopulators of towns and houses, and one from the canon law, which declares that all persons are entitled to the protection of sanctuary, except only two—a public robber and a devastator of lands and highways.§ He says, the canons also refuse such persons Christian burial; and it is, he adds, only reasonable that those who withdraw themselves from the living by the destruction of towns should not communicate locally with them in burial. He travels over the story of Naboth and Achab, repeats the denunciation of the prophet Elias to the latter, apostrophises the depopulators, and tells them their crime is the same, but that it will be more severely punished, as they had not been amended by former examples, and narrates, from preceding writers, the history of two other oppressors, one of whom was buried alive in a vineyard of which he attempted to rob a poor widow, and the other was seen burning in a well of sulphur in hell. This last personage was really worthy of the enlightenment of modern times, as, when remonstrated with on his oppressions, he replied, “If I am predestined to heaven, no sins can deprive me of it, and if to hell, no good works can save me.” After these episodes he again apostrophises “the oppressors of the people, the destroyers of towns, who unjustly possess the lands of free tenants, driving them from the hereditary seats of their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and great-great-grandfathers, and exposing them to beggary, theft, and other miseries. The world hates you for this,—God and all the host of heaven detest your infamous society, and the devil only with his satellites can with pleasure admit you to his company.”|| He cites several

* See p. 120.

† P. 122.

‡ Pp. 39-44.

§ “Scilicet latronem publicum et devastatorem agrorum et viarum.”—p. 88.

|| Pp. 95-6.

passages from the Decretals, Institutes, and other works, to show that they act contrary to the first principle on which states are founded, that the advantage of the entire community is to be preferred to that of a few individuals—to the maxims of all the wise men of ancient times—to the principles of Christian charity and mercy, and to the command of God—"Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth;"—proves, in a plain, sensible, practical manner, that their conduct is opposed not only to the public interest, but even to their own; states that the country, which was formerly well inhabited, was then a desolate waste, and the highways, which had been safe, because thronged with honest passengers, and running through innumerable populous towns and villages, were then beset with highwaymen, who robbed and murdered with impunity; tells them that they begin and end their works with the curses of the people, and that they are sure to be punished in the next world with the eternal pains of hell; that, as they love neither God nor their neighbour, they are sure to perish, according to that passage in the Epistle to the Romans, "He who lives without the law shall perish without the law;" combats the notion that a man can do what he likes with his own; says a man cannot use his own food or wines to excess, or kill himself with his own knife, without incurring God's wrath; and that therefore men must be particularly careful, under pain of damnation, not to expend their means to the detriment of the public. Madmen, he says, are not allowed by their friends to use their own swords and knives as they wish; but these are worse than madmen, and if they abuse the privileges with which they are invested they ought to be deprived of them. Certain games and dresses are prohibited by act of parliament; much more ought this practice to be prohibited, which is so detestable in the sight of God, and destructive to the kingdom. He warns the king of his duty to his subjects; tells him not to be a consenting party, by his silence, to this iniquity, and begs of him to endeavour to put a stop to it, and assures him that by so doing he will obtain here the blessing of God and the good will of the people, and in the world to come life everlasting.*

The misery and turbulence created by this system at length compelled the legislature to interfere, and the statutes which they passed are certainly deserving of the attention of those

* See pp. 113-137.

who would put an end to the same system in this country. So much did the governing powers of the state sympathise in early times with the sufferings of the poor, and so little did they consider them disposed to rebel through mere wantonness, or the innate wickedness of their natures, that Fortescue, who was for twenty years chief justice, and for some years Chancellor of England, says, "Nothing may make the people to arise but lacke of goods or lacke of justice. But yet certeynly when they lack goods they will arise, sayyng they lack justice. Nevertheless, if they be not poor, they will never aryse, but if their prince so leve justice that he gyve himself al to tyrannye."* It was in consequence of these benevolent, wise, and merciful views; regarding every insurrection of the poor as the result of poverty or injustice, that we find all the early popular outbreaks suppressed with such extraordinary clemency as to excite the surprise of all modern writers, and that we find Henry VII and his parliament appeasing the people by removing their grievances, and not by barbarous penal laws and military executions.

It would appear that the common law opposed restraints and penalties enough to the progress of this evil practice, had those who were entrusted with the administration of it possessed the honesty to enforce it. The 4 Hen. VII, c. 12, which provides certain remedies for persons who could not before obtain redress, in consequence of the negligence, favour, and misdeameaning of the justices of the peace in the execution of their commissions, sets out the mischiefs arising from this misconduct; and states that they tend to displease God and to subvert "the policy and good governance of the realm; for by these enormyties and myschefes his (the king's) pease is broken, his subyettes disquieted and impoverished, the husbandre of this londe decayed, wherby the church of England is upholden, the service of God continued, every man hath sustenance, and every inheritor his rent for his londe;" that there were sufficient laws already in force to repress them, but that the subjects were "litell eased of the saide mischefes by the saide justices, but by many of them rather hurte than helped." As prior to this period we find no act against depopulation and inclosures, the laws alluded to in the statute must have been the provisions of the common law. Tillage appears to have been particularly favoured by our early legislators. Coke tells us that "the common law gives arable

* Absolute and Limited Monarchy, c. 12.

land the precedency and pre-eminency before meadows, pastures, mines, and all other grounds whatsoever;"—that it ought, therefore, to be named in a *præcipe* before all others, and that even "*averia caruæ*, beasts of the plough, have, in some instances, more privilege than other cattle have."* By the 51 Hen. III, *de Districione Scaccarii*, and 28 Ed. I, c. 12, beasts of the plough were not to be distrained if other distress could be had. In the three principal law dictionaries, Jacob's, Cunningham's, and Tomlyn's, we are told that "so careful is our law to preserve it (tillage) that a bond or condition to restrain tillage or sowing of lands, &c. &c. is void." 11 Rep. 53. In the case to which these eminent writers thus refer, it was resolved "that at common law no man could be prohibited from working in any lawful trade, for the law abhors idleness, the mother of all evil," &c. &c. "And that appears in 2 Hen. V, 56, a dyer was bound that he should not use the dyer's craft for two years, and there Hale held that the bond was against the common law, and by G—d, if the plaintiff was here, he should go to prison till he paid a fine to the king; and so for the same reason, if an husbandman is bound that he shall not sow his land, the bond is against the common law."† The 39 Eliz. c. 1, declares that "the decayes of towns and habitations have been by the ancient laws of this realm esteemed an high offence." As the canon law deprived the *depopulatores agrorum* of the privileges of sanctuary and Christian burial, so the common law deprived them of the benefit of clergy.‡ Even after the statute *De Clero*, when all other felonies (with the exception of arson and *insidiatio viarum*) and petty treason were clergyable, their crime was not. The reason which Hale says, he heard Noy, then the king's attorney, give for it (the exclusion of these offences from the benefit of clergy), in the King's Bench, about 7 Car. 1, was that they were "by interpretation of law hostile acts."§ "It appeareth by the statute," 4 Hen. IV, c. 2, says Coke, "that *depopulatores agrorum* were great offenders, by the ancient law. They are called *depopulatores agrorum* for that by prostrating or decaying of the houses of habitation of the king's people, they depopulate, that is, dispeople, the towns."|| Depopulation "is now the apparent effect of enclosing lordships and manors, by which means several good populous old vil-

* 4 Rep. 39. Co. Litt. 85 b.

† Ipswich Tailor's case, 11 Rep. 53 b.

‡ Foulter's case, 11 Rep. 29 b. Staundf. P. C. 124 a.

§ P. C. vol. ii. 333.

|| 3 Inst. 204.

lages have been reduced from a great number of sufficient farms to a few cottages."* It was not till the 4 Hen. IV, c. 2, that even clergymen guilty of this offence were entitled to benefit of clergy. By that statute it was provided that the words *Insidiatores viarum et depopulatores agrorum* should not be thenceforth used "in any indictments, appeals, or impeachments, nor that by force of any such word, or term, any clerk, religious or secular, nor any other of the king's liege people," should be charged before any secular judge, "but that the justices may take and receive before them indictments, arraignments, and appeals of felonies, containing in them the effect of the said words and terms,"—and that clerks (not laymen) so charged should be allowed their clergy. So great was the severity with which even churchmen were prosecuted for this offence, that the above statute was passed on the petition of the clergy themselves, and after they had agreed that the ordinary should take measures for the adequate punishment of each offender. Such was the light in which depopulation was viewed, and such the manner in which it was treated, in early times. Even after the Reformation, when the richer classes had become more indifferent to the sufferings of the poor, and were committing this offence on the most extensive scale, and the various husbandry acts which we shall presently notice, had impliedly abolished its felonious character, by providing for its repression only by fines and the compulsory restoration of the lands to tillage, and the re-edification of the houses which had been suffered to fall to decay,—Sir Edward Coke names it as one of those offences against the public weal which the king cannot pardon. After observing that "the law so regards the weal public, that although in actions popular the king shall have the suit solely in his own name for the redress of it, yet by his pardon he cannot discharge the offender, for this, that it is not only in prejudice of the king but in damage of the subjects, . . . as if a man ought to repair a bridge, and for default of reparation it falls into decay; in this case the suit ought to be in the name of the king, and the king is sole party to the suit, but for the benefit of all his subjects. And for this, if the king pardon it, yet the offence remains; and in any suit in the name of the king, for redress of it, the offenders ought (notwithstanding the pardon) to make and repair the bridge for the benefit of the weal public; but, peradventure,

* Cowell's Interpreter—Depopulation.

the pardon shall discharge the fine for the time past; and with this agrees 37 Hen. VI, 46, Plow. Com. in Nicol's case, 487; he adds, "the same law, and *a multo fortiori* in case of depopulation; for this is not only an offence against the king but against all the realm; for by this all the realm is enfeebled; idle and dissolute people, which are enemies to the commonwealth, abound; and *for this cause depopulation and diminution of subjects is a greater nuisance and offence to the weal public, than the hinderance of the subjects in their good and easy passage by any bridge or highway*; and for this, notwithstanding the pardon of the king, he shall be bound to re-edify the houses of husbandry which he hath depopulated; but, peradventure, for the time before the pardon he will not be fined, but for the time after, without doubt, he shall be fined and imprisoned, for the offence itself cannot be pardoned, as in the case of a bridge or highway, *quia est malum in se*."* The Star-Chamber, we also find, long after the repeal of the husbandry acts, declaring that depopulation was punishable at common law, and punishing it severely by fine and imprisonment. Fine and imprisonment are not at all mentioned as a punishment in any of the husbandry acts. If any one be disposed to cavil with us for citing a decision of the Star-Chamber, we should remind them that it was the same Star-Chamber that settled the law of libel as it has remained to the present day. We also find, long after the repeal of the husbandry acts, Charles issuing commissions to repress depopulation; and his keeper of the Greal Seal annually directing the judges to inquire into and punish it, on their several circuits. When we thus find it to have been a felony without benefit of clergy, in early times, and a high misdemeanour, at least, in the times of the Stuarts, we must not be surprised at the extraordinary statutes which the legislature, following out the spirit of the common law, adopted for its repression. Did we not know that they were merely declaratory of the common law, and framed to afford less penal, but, perhaps, more efficacious remedies for the evil, which it held in such abhorrence, we might be amazed at their arbitrary, and—as modern political parroters would say—unconstitutional character. But, knowing this, we shall probably consider them all "too mild and gentle," as the 5 Eliz. c. 2, describes two of the severest of them. But we shall leave our readers to their private judgment of them.

* 12 Rep. 30.

The first statute which we meet directly forbidding depopulation and inclosures, is the 4 Hen. VII, c. 17, which provided that whereas the Isle of Wight had been depopulated, by towns and villages having been let down, and lands inclosed for cattle, and many dwelling-houses and farms having been taken into one man's hands, "that of old tyme were wont to be in many and several persons holdes and handes, and many several householdes kept in them, and thereby moche people multiplied, and the same isle thereby well inhabited, the which now, by the occasion aforesaid, is desolate and not inhabited, but occupied with bestis and catal, so that if hasty remedy be not provided, that isle cannot be long kepte and defended, but open and redye to the handes of the king's ennemyes," &c., no man should take more farms "than that the ferme of them altogidre" should not exceed ten marcs—that those who held more should, before Michaelmas 1490, make their selection of those they would retain, "the remenaunt to cease and to be utterly void," and the occupier to be discharged of the rent, but to be intitled to compensation for repairs and buildings, "as right and good conscience requiren."

In the same session another act was passed applying to the entire kingdom. It recites that "great inconveniences daily doth encrease by desolacion, and pulling down, and wilful waste of houses and townes within this realme, and leyeng to pasture landes which custumeably have been used in the tylthe, whereby ydelness, groundes and beginning of all myschaefs, dayly do encrease, for where in some townes two hundred persones were occupied, and lived by their lawful labours, nowe be there occupied two or three herdemen, and the residue fall in ydelnes; the husbandrie, which is one of the greatest commodities of this realm, is gretly decayed, churches destroyed, the service of God withdrawn, the bodies there buried not praied for, the patrone and curates wronged, the defence of this land ageyn owre ennemyes outwarde febled and impaired:" and provides that any person who had any houses that at any time within the preceding three years had been, or thereafter should be, let to farm with twenty acres of land or more, in tillage or husbandry, should maintain "houses and buildings upon the seid ground and lond necessarie for mayntenynge and upholdynge of the seid tillage and husbandrie," or forfeit half the issues and profits to the king, or the other next lord of the fee. That this act was merely declaratory of the common law, we have a proof in Coke's naming all the evils arising from the decay of tillage, almost

in the same words, and adding, "all this appeareth by our books."*

The great and sagacious Lord Bacon eulogizes the wisdom of the king and parliament in passing this statute, as "profound and admirable." After mentioning the evils of the depopulating system, and the provisions of the act—he says, "By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom into the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of condition between gentlemen and cottagers, or peasants."† In another work he refers to this statute as a master stroke of policy, in maintaining, as he says, houses of husbandry "with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, or at least usufructuary, and not hirelings and mercenaries, and thus a country shall merit that character whereby Virgil expresses ancient Italy,

‘Terra potens armis atque ubere glebâ.’”

It appears, in short, that these views were constantly recurring to him as profound political axioms.‡

The system of depopulation continuing, notwithstanding the act of Henry, we find another act (6 Hen. VIII. c. 5), passed against it in the sixth year of Henry VIII. This was to continue only to the Christmas following. In the next session, however, so loud were the complaints against the inclosers, that another act was passed almost in the same words as the last, but with this material difference, that it was to be perpetual. This statute (7 Hen. VIII. c. 1), set forth the evils daily arising from the desolation and destruction of towns and houses, and the conversion of land which had been "*customably*" tilled into pasture, "whereby idleness doth increase; for where in some townes cc persons, men, women, and

* Co. Litt. 85 b. 4 Rep. 39.

† Life of Henry VII, pp. 63-4.

‡ See Preface to vol. iii. of the edition of his works, by Basil Montagu, p. xxix.

children, and their ancestours out of tyme of mynde were dayly occupied and lyved by sowing of corn and graynes, bredyng of cattall, and other encrease necessarye for manys sustenance, and now the said persons and their progenyes be mynysshed and decreasyd, whereby the husbandry, which is the greatest commodite of this realme for sustenance of man, ys greatly decayed, churches destrued," &c. &c. "cities, market townes, brought to great ruin and decaye, necessities for mannys sustenance made scarce and dere, the people sore mynysshed in this realme, whereby the powre and defence thereof ys febled and empayred, to the displeasure of God and against his laws, and to the subversion of the common weale of this realme and the desolacion of the same:" and it provided that if any towns, boroughs, hamlets, tything houses or other habitations "whereof the more part the first day of this present parliament was or were used and occupied to tillage and husbandrie" should be wilfully suffered to decay and fall down, the owners should within one year, and at their own cost, rebuild them "mete and convenient for people to dwelle and inhabite in the same," and that all tillage lands which since the first day of that parliament had been or at any time thereafter should be "enclosed and tourned only to pasture," should within one year be restored to tillage under the penalty of forfeiting half the profits to the next lord of the fee, or, in case he neglected to enforce it within a certain time, "to the next immediate lord above them."

These statutes do not appear to have produced much effect. They were enforced only on the lands held of the king, and therefore, by the 27 Hen. VIII. c. 22, the forfeited moiety of the rents and profits was transferred to him from the lords of the fee in counties therein named. To those who are practically acquainted with the agricultural state of Ireland we would submit the feeling preamble of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13:—"For as moche as dyvers and sundry persons of the kynge's subjectes of this realme, to whome God of hys goodness hath disposed greate plentie and abundance of movable substance, nowe of late within fewe years, have dayly studyed, practised, and invented ways and means how they myght accumulate and gather together into few hands as well great multitude of fermes as great plenty of cattall, and, in especial shepe, putting such landes as they can get to pasture and not to tillage, whereby they have not only pulled down churches and townes, and inhansed the old rates of the rentis of the possessions of the realme, or els brought it to such excessive

finer that no poure man is able to medell with it, but also have rayseed and enhansed the prises of all manner of corne. catall, woll, pygges, geese, hennes, chekynes, eggs, and such other, almost double above the prises which have been accustomed, by reason whereof a mervaylous multitude and nombre of the people of this realme be not able to provide mate, drynke, and clothes necessary for themselves, their wyfes, and children, but be so discouraged with misery and povertie that they fall dayly to thefte, robberie, or other inconvenience, or pitifully die for hunger and colde. And, as it is thought by the kynges most humble and loving subjects that one of the greatest occasions that moveth and provoketh those greedy and covetous people so to accumulate and keep in their hands suche greate portions and parties of the grounds and landes of this realme from the occupying of the poure husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tyllage, is only the great profette that commyth of shepe, which now be commyn to a few persons handes of this realme in respecte of the holle number of the kynges subjectes, that some have xxiiii thousand, some xx thousand, some x thousand, some vi thousand, some v thousand, and some more and some lesse, by the which a good shepe for vytall that was accustomed to be sold for iis. iiiid. or iiis. at the moste, is now solde for vis., or vs., or iiis. at the leaste," &c. This act provided that no man should have more than two thousand sheep under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every one above that number—half to the king, half to the informer, or take two farms, unless "he be dwellyng within the parishes where such holdings be."

These enactments were not efficiently enforced, and therefore gave little relief to the poor; and even when the king was induced to issue commissions against inclosures and the decay of husbandry, many of the gentry are said to have obtained, by bribes, from Wolsey, licenses to retain their inclosures.* The measure of the misery of the poor was filled to overflowing by the suppression of the monasteries. These establishments had been in all times the best of landlords; even to the present day, notwithstanding the glare of Gospel light, which has shown mercy and charity to be the superstitious foibles of dark and barbarous ages, the tenants of church lands look upon their possessions as secure as if they had the fee. On the suppression of the religious houses, and the alienation of their possessions, the new owners expelled the

* Hollingshed, vol. ii. 862.

tenantry wherever they could, and turned their lands to pasture; though, by the 27 Hen. VIII, c. 28, s. 17 and 18, they were bound to keep as much land in tillage as had been commonly kept in tillage, within twenty years next before the passing of the act. It is impossible to give any adequate description of the amount of misery caused by this heartless oppression. So many were driven from their homes, and compelled to live by begging and thieving, that, in that one reign, 72,000 were hanged for thieving, and that it was no uncommon thing to see twenty suspended on the one gallows.* Of the state of the people generally in this reign, the Protestant memorialist of the Reformation gives the following account: "Both the gentry and clergy grew extremely covetous. As for the lay sort, they fell to raising their old repts, turned their arable into pasture for grazing sheep, and inclosed commons, to the great oppression of the poor. This may be best understood, by reading what one writes who lived in those days: 'How do the rich men, and especially such as be sheeptomongers, oppress the king's liege people by devouring their common pastures with their sheep, so that the poor people are not able to keep a cow, for the comfort of them and of their poor families, but are like to starve and perish for hunger, if there be not provisions made shortly. What sheep-ground scapeth these caterpillars of the common-wealth? How swarm they with abundance of flocks of sheep? . . . If these sheeptomongers go forth as they begin, the people shall both miserably die for cold, and wretchedly perish for hunger . . . Rich men were never so much estranged from all pity and compassion towards poor people as they be at this present time. They devour the people as it were a morsel of bread. If any piece of ground delight their eye, they must needs have it, either by hook or by crook. If the poor man will not satisfy their covetous desires, he is sure to be molested, troubled, and disquieted, on such sort, that, whether he will or not (though both he, the careful wife and miserable children perish for hunger), he shall forego it, or else it were as good for him to live among the furies of hell, as to dwell by those rich carles and covetous churles.' This writer proceeds to say, that by the depopulating system, whole towns became desolate, and like to a wilderness traversed only by a shepherd and his dog, and that he himself knew 'many towns and villages sore decayed, so that whereas in times past there

* See Fortescue de Land. Leg. Ang. by Amos, p. 174.

were in some towns an hundred households, now there remained not thirty : in some fifty, there were not then ten : yea, which was more to be lamented, some towns so wholly destroyed, that there was not stick nor stone standing, as they use to say. Where many men had good livings, and maintained hospitality ; able at all times to help the king in his wars, and to sustain other charges ; able also to help their poor neighbours, and to bring up their children in godly letters and good sciences : now sheep and conies devour altogether, no man inhabiting the foresaid places ; so that those beasts which were bred of God for the nourishment of man, do now devour man.' Those 'greedy wolves and cumberous cormorants,' as he styles the sheep-masters and feeders of cattle, 'abhorred the names of monks, friars, canons, nuns, &c. ; but their goods they greedily griped : and yet, where the cloisters kept hospitality, let out their farms at a reasonable price, nourished schools, brought up youth in good letters, they did none of all these things.'"

Strype introduces his readers also to a little book, which appeared in 1546, addressed to the king, and entitled, "*A Supplication of the Poor Commons*," to which was added, "*A Petition of the Beggars*." In this, after abusing the monks and friars for their idleness, calling them "sturdy beggars," &c., they proceed : "Instead of these sturdy beggars, there is crept in a sturdy sort of extortioners : these men cease not to oppress us, your highness' poor commons, in such sort, that many thousand of us, which herebefore lived honestly upon our sore labour and travail, bringing up our children in the exercise of honest labour, are now constrained—some to beg, some to borrow, and some to rob and steal—to get food for us and our poor wives and children. And, that is most like to grow to inconvenience, we are constrained to suffer our children to spend the flower of their youth in idleness, bringing them up, other to bear wallets, other else, if they be sturdy, to stuff prisons and garnish gallow trees. For such of us as have no possessions left to us by our predecessors and elders departed this life, can now get no ferm, tenement, or cottage, at these men's hands, without we pay unto them more than we are able to make. Yea, this was tolerable, so long as after this extreme exaction we were not, for the residue of our years, oppressed with much greater rents than hath of ancient times been paid for the same grounds. For

* See Strype's Ecc. Memor. vol. i. pp. 60-6-7.

then a man might, within a few years, be able to recover the fine, and afterwards live honestly by his travail. But now these extortioners have so improved their lands, that they take of 40s. fine 40*l.*, and of 5 nobles rent 5*l.* : yet, not sufficed with this oppression within their own inheritance, they buy, at your highness' hand, such abbey lands as you appoint to be sold. And when they stand once seized therein, they make us your poor commons so in doubt of their threatenings, that we dare do none other than bring unto their courts our copies taken of the convents, and of the late dissolved monasteries, and confirmed by your high court of parliament. They make us believe, that, by virtue of your highness, all our former writings are void and of no effect, and that, if we will not take new leases of them, we must forthwith avoid the grounds, as having therein no interest." The supplication proceeds to state, that when these "possessioners" could see nothing to be purchased of the king, they obtained leases of abbey lands, and, by similar threats, compelled the tenants to surrender their former leases, "and to take by indenture for twenty-one years, overing both fines and rents beyond all reason and conscience. . . . So that we, your poor commons, which have no grounds, nor are able to take any of these extortioners' lands, can find no way to set our children on work now, though we proffer them for meat and drink, and poor clothes to cover their bodies. Help, merciful prince, in this extremity. . . . Employ your study to leave him (Prince Edward), a common weal to govern, and not an island of brute beasts, among whom the strongest devour the weaker. If you suffer Christ's poor members to be thus oppressed, look for none other than the rightful judgment of God for your negligence in your office and ministry. For the blood of all them, that, through your negligence, shall perish shall be required at your hand. . . . Endanger not your soul by the suffering your poor commons to be brought all to the names of *beggars* and most miserable wretches. . . . Prevent the subtile imaginations of them that gaily look after the crown of these realms, after your days. For what greater hope can they have, as concerning that detestable imagination, than that they might win the hearts of us, your highness's commons, by delivering us from the captivity and misery that we are in." They complain of the clergy also, and say of both them and the landlords, "We see daily such great increase of their unsatiable desire, that we fear lest, in process

of time, they will make us all beg, and bring to them all that we can get.*

During the reign of Edward VI, the system of clearing estates and raising rents to the most exorbitant amounts, was carried to such an extent, that not a year passed without an insurrection. The insurgents always began with tearing down the inclosures, and exhibited "a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and took them all as their enemies."† Edward himself attributed the outbreaks of the poor people to the rapacity of the gentry. In his "Remains" we find comments on the conduct of those dealing with land, which are surprisingly applicable to Ireland. After observing that the gentry generally raised their rents exorbitantly, he adds, "But most part of true gentlemen (I mean not those farming gentlemen and clarking knights), have little or nothing increased their rents. The state of landed men is ill looked to, for that estate of gentlemen and noblemen, which is truly to be termed the estate of nobles, hath alonely not increased the gain of living." And again,—“The husbandmen and farmers take their ground at a small rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor men for triple the rent they take it for. . . . The farmer will have ten farms, some twenty, and will be pedlar merchant.”‡

The court preachers all unanimously attributed the rebellions to the rapacity of the rich. Lever, in preaching before the king in 1550, inveighed against their "taking of fines and heightening of rents."§ Latimer says, "Restore them sufficient unto them, and search no more the cause of rebellion. Fear not these giants of England—these great men and men of power. Fear them not; but strike at the root of all evil, which is covetousness. . . I fully certify you, extortioners, violent oppressors, engrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, and the king's liege people, for lack of sustenance, are famished and decayed; they be those which speak against the honour of the king. You landlords, you *rent-raisers*, I may say, you *step-lords*, you *unnatural lords*, you have for your possessions yearly too much. Well, well, this one thing I will say unto you,—from whence it cometh I know, even

* Strype's Ecc. Memor. vol. i. pp. 615-18.

† Letter of the Protector to Sir P. Hoby. Strype, Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. part 2, p. 425.

‡ Pp. 101-2.

§ Strype, Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. part 1, p. 410.

from the devil." "Surveyors there be that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; they make up their mouths, and the commons be utterly undone by them: whose bitter cry ascendeth up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth. The greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress God grant. For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I should despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the king's majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame; giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe, that the general accounting day is at hand,—the dreadful day of judgment I mean,—which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries; a dreadful, horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in their own ways, to whom, as it is written in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, is said "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment, where there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth."* Bernard Gilpin, in a sermon before Edward, in 1553, said, "Now the robberies, extortions, and open oppressions of covetous cormorants have no end nor limits, nor banks to keep in their vileness. As for turning poor men out of their holds they take it for no offence, but say the land is their own; and so they turn them out of their shrouds, like mice. Thousands in England, through such, beg now from door to door, who have kept honest houses. Oh, Lord! what a number of such oppressors, worse than Ahab, are in England, *which sell the poor for a pair of shoes.* (Amos ii.) Of whom, if God should serve but three or four as he did Ahab, to make the dogs lap the blood of them, their wives and posterity, I think it would cause a great number to beware of extortion; and yet, escaping temporal punishments, they are sure, by God's word, their blood is reserved for hell-hounds. England hath of late some terrible examples of God's wrath in sudden and strange deaths, of such as join field to field, and house to house. Great pity they were not chronicled, to the terror of others."† Roger Ascham says, the authors of the misery prevailing in his time were those "who join house to house, who pile together the plunder of the poor, and who greedily eat the fruit of their labour;" those "who have now everywhere in England got the farms of the monasteries, and have increased their profits

* Strype, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 133-5.

† Cited in Strype, ib. pp. 135-6.

by most oppressive rents. These men plunder the whole realm. The farmers and husbandmen everywhere labour, economize, and consume themselves to satisfy their owners. Hence so many families dispersed, so many houses ruined, so many tables common to every one taken away or shut up in holes and corners. Hence the honour and strength of England, the NOBLE YEOMANRY, are broken up and destroyed. Existence is no longer a life, but a misery. Now many apply to one care only, how they may scrape together that money which they have not, to satiate a few traders. All know by experience that the misery of all is infinite. Abject wretches crawling on the ground endure the most painful feeling of this evil, as they cannot relieve themselves, and scarce dare to ask assistance from others. But there sits one in heaven who forgets not the poor. God will at length arise, on account of the groaning of the poor.*

Strype, in illustration of the state of things in this reign, introduces his readers also to *An Information and Petition against the Oppressors of the Poor Commons of this Realm*, published, in 1550, by Robert Crowley, "a man of letters, and bred up in Oxford, an earnest professor of religion, and who, a year or two after this, received orders from Bishop Ridley."† In this we find the following passages:—"If the possessioners would consider themselves to be but stuardes, and not lordes, over their possessions, this oppression would soon be redressed. But so long as this persuasion taketh in their minds,—'It is mine owne; who shall warne me to do wyth myne owne as me selfe lysteth?'—it shall not be possible to have any redress at all. For if I may do with myne owne as me lysteth, then may I suffer my brother, his wife, and his children to lye in the strete, except he will give me more rent for myne house than ever he shall be able to pay; then may I take his goods for that he oweth me, and keep his body in prison, turning out his wife and children to perishe, if God wyll not move some man's herte to pittie them, and yet keep my coffers full of gold and silver. If there were no God, then would I think it lawful for men to use their possessions as they lyste; or, if God would not require an accompt of us for the bestowing of them, I would not greatly gainsay if they took their pleasure of them whylse they lived here. But forasmuch as we have a God, and he hath declared unto us by the Scriptures that he hath made the possessioners but stuardes of his

* Epistles, pp. 294-5.

† Strype, Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. part 1, p. 217.

ryches, and that he will holde a streight accompt wyth them for the occupying and bestowing of them, I think that no Christian ears can abide to hear that more than Turkish opinion. . . . Behold, you engrossers of fermes and tenements, the terrible threatenings of God, whose wrath you cannot escape. The voice of the poor (whom you have with money thrust out of house and home), is well accepted in the ears of the Lord, and hath stirred up his wrath against you. He threateneth you with most horrible plagues. . . . And doubt not ye, you leasemongers, that take groundes by lease to the entente to lette them again for double and tripple the rente, your part is in this plague; for when you have multiplied your rentes to the highest, so that ye have made all your tenants poor slaves, to labour and toyle, and bring to you all that may be plowen and digged out of your groundes, then shall death suddenly strike you; then shall your conscience pricke you; then shall you think, with desperate Cain, that your sin is greater then that it may be forgiven. For your own conscience shall judge you worthy no mercy, because you have shewed no mercy. Yea, the same enimie that hath kindled this same mischievous, outrageous, and unsociable covetousnes shall then be as busy to put you in mind of the words of Christ, saying, 'The same measure that you have made unto others shall now be made unto you.' You have showed no mercy; how can you then look for mercy? . . . God hath not sette you to survey his lands, but to play the stuardes in his household of this world, and to see that your pour fellow-servantes lacke not their necessities. . . . And if any of them perish thorowe your default, knowe then for certeintye that the bloud of them shall be required at your hands. If the impotent creatures perish for lack of necessities, you are the murderers, for you have their inheritance, and do not minister unto them. If the sturdy fall to stealing, robbing, and revering, then are you the causers thereof, for you dig in, inclose, and withhold from them the earth, out of which they should dig and plough their living. For, as the Psalmist writeth, 'All the heaven is the Lordes; but as for the earth hee hath given to the children of men.' . . . What a sea of mischifes hath flowed out of this more then Turkish tyrannie?" The work concludes thus:—"If you let these things pass, and regarde them not, be ye sure the Lord shall confound your wisdom. Invent, decre, establish, and authorise what you can, all shal come to nought. The ways that you shall invent to establish

unitie and concord shall be the occasions of discord. The things wherby you shal think to wyn praise through all the world shall tourne to your utter shame, and the wayes you shall invent to establish a kingdom shall be the utter subversion of the same."

In another work, published the same year, we find the following passages on this subject:—"We are commanded to love God above all things, and our neighbours as ourselves. But how do we love our neighbours as ourselves, when we put them out of their houses, and lay their goods in the streets? . . . Who in these days are such oppressors, such graziers (turning arable land to pasture), such shepherds (keeping sheep instead of ploughing for setting poor men on work), such enhancers of rents, such takers of incomes, as are those which profess the Gospel? . . . Would to God that in these days men would be as careful for their poor brethren as they are for their dogs."*

In 1548, a rebellion broke out in Cornwall. After its suppression, says Strype, "that these insurrections might be prevented for the future, occasioned in a great measure by the poverty and discontent that reigned in the country, by reason of the decay of tillage, and the inclosing of land for pasturage," "a commission was granted to inquire into these abuses; and on the 1st of June, there went out a notable proclamation against inclosures, letting houses fall to decay, and unlawful converting of arable ground into pastures." This proclamation set forth, that the king and privy council had been "advertised" "as well by divers supplications and pitiful complaints of the king's poor subjects, as also by other wise and discreet men, having care of the good order of the realm, that of late by the inclosing of lands and arable grounds in divers and sundry places of the realm, many had been driven to extreme poverty, and compelled to leave the places where they were born, and seek their beings in other countries with great misery and poverty, insomuch as in times past, where ten, twenty, yea in some places one hundred or two hundred Christian people have been inhabiting," &c. &c. "now there is nothing but sheep and bullocks; all that land which was heretofore tilled and occupied by so many men," &c. &c., "is now gotten by the insateable greediness of men, into one or two men's hands, and scarcely dwelt upon by one poor shepherd, so that the realm is thereby

* See Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* vol. ii. part 1, pp. 226-7.

brought into marvellous desolation, houses decayed, parishes diminished, the force of the realm weakened, and Christian people by the greedy covetousness of some men, eaten and devoured of brute beasts, and driven from their houses by sheep and bullocks,"—that though complaints had been often made of these abuses, and many laws provided against them, yet "the insatiable covetousness of men," did not cease "more and more to waste the realm after this sort, bringing arable grounds into pasture, and letting houses, whole families and copyholds to fall down, decay and be waste," and that therefore he had appointed commissioners to enquire "of all such as, contrary to the said acts and godly ordinances, have made inclosures and pastures of that which was arable ground, or let any house, tenement, or mease, decay and fall down," &c. &c. The proclamation notices the "great rots and mur-rains, both of sheep and bullocks," which "as it may be justly thought by the due punishment of God for such un-charitableness, have been lately sent of God and seen in the realm."

From the charge of Mr. John Hales, one of the most zealous of the commissioners, on the opening of his commission, we shall give a few extracts that may prove useful if not interesting. After mentioning that the decay of tillage, &c., had already produced a "wonderful diminution of the king's subjects, as those can wel declare, that confer the new books of musters with the old, or with the Chronicles;" so that "where there were in few years ten or twelve thousand people, there be now scarce four thousand—where there were a thousand, now scarce three hundred, and in many places where there were very many able to defend our country from the landing of our enemies, now almost none;"—after inveighing against the rapacity of the rich, and pointing out its inutility even to themselves, as "evil gotten worse spent," after regretting "that there should be so little charity amongst men," and that one Englishman should be set to destroy his countryman," and recommending his auditors to consider nothing "profitable that is not godly and honest, and nothing godly and honest wherby our neighbours and Christen brethren, or the commonwealth our country is hurted or harmed,"—he says God's word is full of threats and curses against the oppressors of the poor. "Woe be unto you," saith He, "that cannot be contented that other men should live by you and with you, but put men from their livings, join house to house, and couple field to field: what do you

mean? Think ye to live alone in the midst of the earth? No, no, the people be mine, I have a care and respect to them; I will not suffer them to be devoured at your hands, . . . I am their defender, I am their ayder, and I will not suffer them to perish."^{*}

"Such was the greedy avarice of the gentry," and so successfully did they thwart the execution of the commissions, that all the endeavours of the court and the commissioners were unavailing; "the severe effects of which appeared," says Strype, "the next year, in insurrections throughout the kingdom." In anticipation of these outbreaks, and through compassion for the poor, the king issued several proclamations and commissions against the inclosures, but the people were so harrassed by their sufferings, that they rose in rebellion in Cornwall, Devon, and Norfolk. After some partial success, they were suppressed with great slaughter, and at an expense to the crown of 27,330*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*† Strype attributes the loss of the outworks of Bologne, and the sale of that town, to these troubles, not permitting the king to send forces in time to its relief;‡ He also informs us, that the nobility and gentry were greatly disgusted with the Protector for issuing the proclamations and commissions, and acting leniently towards the poor people; that they thought the establishment of martial law, the issuing of special commissions of *oyer and terminer*, and hanging up the "ripest knaves" in each county, the best means of securing the peace; and that the mildness of his courses which were condemned by the "lofty domineering nobles and gentlemen, whose covetousness made them afflict and oppress the inferior sort," was one of the causes of his downfall.§

It is unnecessary to go into a detail of all the rebellions, that occurred in this and the two subsequent reigns on account of the gentry thus clearing their estates. All that we need say is, that scarce a year passed in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, without an insurrection in some corner or other of the island—or complaints being made of a famine, or at the least a scarcity of provisions,|| and that so prominent a feature was agricultural distress in every insurrection, that even in the homily against wilful rebellion, the first standard of rebellion mentioned is a flag with the plough, and the motto "God speed the Plough." The state of things in England then bore

* Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. pp. 351-9.

† Ib. 279.

§ Ib. 237, 286.

‡ Ib. 278.

|| See Strype, *passim*.

the strongest possible resemblance to the state of Ireland for the last century and a half—the only difference being, that in England the government always sought to remove the cause of the popular discontent, while here it has studiously encouraged the oppression of the poor, shut its eyes to their wrongs, and contented itself with sabreing and hanging them when famine drove them to rebellion.

In the reign of Edward, the depopulators had too much power to allow the people to obtain any relief from their oppressions, and in 1546 threw out three bills brought in by Hales the commissioner for the protection of the poor against the graziers, and for the maintenance of tillage and husbandry.* The only statute passed on the subject in that reign was the 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 5, which provided that so much land should be annually tilled in each parish as had been kept in tillage for the space of four years at any time since the first year of Henry VIII, under a penalty of 5s. an acre "for every year so offending," and that commissioners should be appointed to inquire what lands were in tillage. In the reign of Mary, we find two valuable acts, to which we would specially call the attention of the depopulators and their abettors.

The 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, c. i. "for the better habitation, restoring, and reedifying of the castelles, fortresses, and fortelles, villages, and houses, that bee decayed within the counties of Northumberlande, Cumberlande, Westmoreland, and the bishopricke of Durham, and for the better manuring and employing the groundes within the same, and for the more increase of tillage," provided that a commission should be issued from and after the 1st of December then next following, as often "as nede shall requyre," to inquire into those evils and to remedy them at the discretion of the commissioners. The act sets out the form of the commission, and virtually gives up to the discretion of the commissioners all the property in those counties, as well crown lands as others—and is enough to startle those who fancy that "every man has a right to do what he likes with his own." That act, however, applied only to those counties which, perhaps, were in a worse condition than any others in the kingdom. The next in the statute book, (the 2 and 3 P. and M. c. 2), applied to the entire kingdom. This act confirmed for ever the 4 Hen. VII, c. 19, and extended its operation to all houses decayed or to "bee decayed," that had or should have "twenty acres or more to

* Strype, *ib.* p. 211.

them lying or belonging," whether the same or any part thereof had been used in tillage or not, and authorized the crown, at all times, as often as should seem convenient, to appoint commissioners to hear and determine all offences against the 4 Hen. VII. c. 19, and 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1, and to inquire of all grounds converted from tillage to pasture, and "of all grounde in or neere any corne feilde newly converted to the keeping of conies, not being lawful warren." The powers of these commissioners, though not so great as those of the commissioners for the four northern counties, were still very extensive. They were to bind the parties guilty "of any of thaforsaid decays or defaults, and then being and continuing owner," &c. &c. "in such sommes of money as to suche commissioners shall seem reasonable for the reedifying of such decayed houses, and for the converting of such ground so converted from tillage to pasture into tillage again, and for the diminishing and destroying of conies within such convenient time and in such maner and fourme as to the same commissioners shall seem mete;" and if "the offender or offenders cannot be gotten to be bound by recognizance," then to "take such other order for the reedifying, &c. &c. as shall bee thought mete by their discretions;"—and if the place in which the decayed houses should be situated, should be found in the hands of any other than the original offenders, then to compel those to reedify, &c. and to assess and tax all and every person having any particular estate in the lands for term of life, years, &c. in such sums of money as to the commissioners should seem reasonable, to be paid by way of contribution, according to the nature of their estates, to the person ordered to rebuild, and (sec. 4) to compel the occupiers of the grounds converted to pasture, or "employed to the keeping of conies," "to turne the same again into tillage, or to destroy or diminishe the said conies" within such time and upon such paynes as by them shall be limited and appointed,"—and (sec. 12) "if the grounds to be reconverted into tillage should be chargeable with any rent reserved since the time the said ground was converted from tillage to pasture, and which was reserved and made greater in consideration that the same was so converted from tillage into pasture or stored with conies," to abate and apportion according to their discretion "all suche rents, if they be greater than the ground turned into tillage or by reason of the destruction of the conies, is worth"—any "writing, agreement, or promise whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding;"—and (sec. 14) if the houses when rebuilt

should not be let to farm within two years, with twenty, or at least ten, acres of land "lying convenient for the said house," "to demise and let the said house and landes to any person or persons having no other ferm or tenements within the same parishe, nor having any accion or suit at that present against the owner, and requiring the same for seven years at the most, for such reasonable rent, and upon such reasonable covenantes as the said commissioners shall think mete for bothe parties,"—"upon which lease thowners of thouse and lands so letton, their executors and assigns and every of them for the time being, and also every such lessee, &c. &c. shall have such remedy and actions thone against thother as they should or might have had if they themselves onely had been parties to the said leases." The twenty-fourth section imposed a fine of 5*s.* for every acre that should be thenceforth converted from tillage to pasture.

Severe as this statute would now appear, it and the 5 and 6 Ed. VI, c. 5, were repealed by the 5 Eliz. c. 2, as "being in some partes thereof imperfect, and in some places too milde and gentle, and thereby not having brought to the decayed state of tillage and houses of husbandry that long-looked-for remedye which was then hoped for." This statute confirmed for ever the 4 Hen. VII, c. 19, 7 Hen. VIII, c. 1, 27 Hen. VIII, c. 22, and 27 Hen. VIII, c. 28, sec. 17, 18, and provided that all lands tilled for four years successively at any time since the 20 Hen. VIII should be kept in tillage under a penalty of 10*s.* an acre, to be recovered by the next heir, the remainder-man, the lord of the fee, or the crown, or in default of these successively, by any one who should sue, &c. &c.; and also, that all lands converted to pasture between ann. 7 and 20 Hen. VIII should be restored to tillage within one year, and that commissioners should be appointed, from time to time, to enquire of offences, &c. &c. &c. By the 13 Eliz. c. 25, this act was made perpetual, but by the 14 Eliz. c. 11, 27 Eliz. c. 11, 29 Eliz. c. 25, 31 Eliz. c. 10, and 35 Eliz. c. 7, was continued only to the end of the next session of parliament. This seemed to be productive of much mischief, for, in 1597-8 we find two acts passed on the subject. The first (39 Eliz. c. 1), enacts that one half of the houses of husbandry decayed for more than seven years, and all those decayed within seven years, should be rebuilt, and forty or twenty acres of land laid to them under a yearly penalty of 10*l.* for not rebuilding the houses, and 10*s.* an acre for not laying the lands to them. The second (39 Eliz. c. 2), begins with the following admi-

table recital:—"Whereas the strengthe and florishinge estate of this kingdome hath bene allways and is greatly upheld and advanced by the maintenance of the ploughe and tillage, being the occasion of the increase and multiplyinge of people, both for service in the wars and in tymes of peace,—being, also, a principal meane that people are sett on worke, and thereby withdrawn from ydlenesse, drunkenesse, unlawful games, and all other lewd practises and conditions of life: And whereas, by the same means of tillage and husbandrie, the greater parte of the subjects are preserved from extreme poverty in a competent estate and maintenance, and means to live, and the wealth of the realme is kept dispersed and distributed in manie handes, where yt is more ready to answer all necessary chardges for the service of the realme: And whereas, also, the said husbandrie and tillage is a cause that the realme doth more stand upon itselfe without dependenge upon forraigne countries, either for bringinge in of corne in tyme of scarcitie, or vent and utterance of our own commodities, beinge in over greate abundance: and whereas," since the discontinuance of the husbandry acts in the thirty-fifth year of her reign, "there have growne many more depopulations by turning tillage into pasture than at any time for the like number of years heretofore." This act increased the penalty on the conversion of tillage to pasture, or not reconverting pasture to tillage, from 10s. to 20s. per acre, and made the penalty recoverable at once by whoever would sue for it. By another act of the same session, the 5th Eliz. c. 2, was made perpetual.

The administration of the law was then as corrupt in England as it was during the last century, and up to a very recent period, in this country; and therefore acts of parliament were powerless against the exterminators of the poor; and the natural consequence was that thieves, "sturdy beggars," and vagabonds were as numerous there as they ever have been in this country. So dangerous did Elizabeth consider the crowds of "vagabonds" about London, in 1595, that she ordered "the most incorrigible" to be executed by martial law.* In her reign, and in those of her father and brother, several acts were passed, much worse, perhaps, than any coercion bills ever enacted for this country. Some of those provided, that "sturdy beggars and vagabonds" should be whipped (22 Hen. VIII, c. 12); that they should for the

* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 409.

second offence have the upper part of the right ear cut off, and for the third suffer death as felons (27 Hen. VIII, c. 25); that they should be marked with a V on the breast with a red-hot iron, and be adjudged slaves for two years to any one who would take them, and have iron collars put on their necks, legs, or arms as marks of ownership; for the second offence, be marked in the same manner on the forehead or cheek with an S, and be slaves for ever; and for the third suffer death as felons (1 Edw. VI, c. 3); and that they should be whipped, and burned through the right ear with a red-hot iron "of the compass of an inch about;" for the second offence suffer death as felons, unless some one would take them into service; and for the third, suffer as felons absolutely. (14 Eliz. c. 5.) In spite of these enactments, and the innumerable executions that took place every year, the number of the idle poor was continually increasing, nor did the country enjoy anything like peace or security till after the enactment of the celebrated poor law of 1601, which gave every man a right to relief if he were in want of it. By the 21 Jac. I, c. 28, all the husbandry acts then in force (except the 25 Hen. VIII, c. 13, concerning the number of sheep each person could keep), were repealed. This seems to have restored the old abuse in all its ancient virulence, for we find a writer, in 1636, describing its effects in the same language as the earlier writers, and denouncing it with the same vehemence, as being opposed to every law, divine and human,* and summing up all the evils of it in these lines, which we copy, chiefly from fancying that they will be words of good omen for our own afflicted countrymen.

"Rex patitur, patitur clerus, republica, pauper;
Et non passurus depopulator erit?"

"But now *passurus est depopulator*: you have heard him discovered, described, arraigned, and convicted, and, ere long, you shall hear his sentence. His crime is no less than high treason against the Sacred Trinity of Heaven, in compassing about violating, and cancelling of that great charter of *terram dedit filiis hominum ut operarentur*,"† and he "must not think that such a grand transgression against God, the

* "Depopulation arraigned, convicted, and condemned, by the lawes of God and man: a treatise necessary in these times. By R. P. of Wells, one of the societie of New Inne."

† He gave the earth to the children of men, that they might labour.

king, the Church, the State, and the poore, can be expiated by a parlor sermon of a stipendiary schoolmaster, who must sow *downe* under his patron's elbowes; *ulcus est ne tangas*; he must not touch this maladie for fear he should lose his *salarie*." (p. 78.)

It appears that the husbandry acts having been repealed, the law advisers of Charles relied on the provisions of the common law for the repression of this crime, for we find that the judges were every year admonished, before going on their circuits, to be particularly assiduous in inquiring into and punishing it. The writer whom we have above quoted complains, that though the judges had, in pursuance of these instructions, been always careful in directing the justices of the peace and the grand juries to inquire into and present these offences, yet no presentment had been ever effectually prosecuted, in consequence of the great influence of the guilty parties and the connivance of "the countrey justices;" and he rejoices that they were at length to meet with their deserts, as the Star Chamber had resolved to take up the subject. We find the lord keeper Coventry, when admonishing the judges before going the summer circuit of 1635, to inquire into depopulation and inclosures, "a crime of a crying nature, that barreth God of his honour and the king of his subjects," making the same complaint of the inefficacy of their former exertions, in consequence of "depopulation being an oppression of an high nature, and commonly done by the greatest persons, that keep the jurors under and in awe;" but adding, "yet his majesty willeth that you do not cease, but inquire on still, for it is his resolution, against all opposition, to make all men see he hath a care of this over-spreading evil, and of the means of his people, having churches and towns demolished, and his people eaten up like bread to satisfy the greedy desires of a few who do waste as profusely as they gather unconscionably, and bring unto their posterity that woe which is pronounced against those that "lay house to house and field to field," to dwell alone in the midst of the earth."* Whether the judges had more success on this than on preceding occasions we cannot say; but we learn that Charles, in the following year, by virtue, we must suppose, of the powers vested in him by the common law, issued commissions into most of the counties of the kingdom, to inquire "What and how many burroughes,

* St. Tr. vol. iii. 832-4.

townes, villages, parishes, hamlets, farmes, farme-houses, or other messuages or houses, since the tenth year of the late queen Elizabeth, have been and are now depopulated, destroyed, and ruined, or converted from the habitation of husbandmen to other uses, and what lands and tenements have been converted from tillage and plowing to pasture," and that the commissioners were commanded to order the persons interested in the depopulated lands to cause, within a time to be limited by any two or more of the commissioners, the houses of husbandry to be repaired, the separated lands to be restored to them, "the lands converted from tillage to pasture and *other unlawful purposes*," to be restored to tillage, "and to admit of husbandmen to be tenants of those houses, *prout hactenus fieri consuetum fuerit*."* We know not what was the result of these commissions, nor have we materials or time for tracing satisfactorily the further progress of this blighting crime in England, and we shall therefore close this notice of it by transcribing from R. P. a decree of the Star Chamber, which may teach the Irish exterminators, that, however they may set at defiance the laws of God and the dictates of charity, they may at last meet with condign punishment at the common law. "In Michaelmas terme, 10 Car., upon an information exhibited by his majestie's attorney-general against a gentleman of note and worth, for *depopulation*, converting great quantities of land into pasture, which formerly, for the space of about forty years, had been arable, used to tillage, and occupied as belonging to severall farme-houses or houses of husbandry, and suffering the farme-houses, with their outhouses, to bee ruined and uninhabited, and a water corn-mill to decay and go to ruin; for that it appeared upon evident proofe that there were many servants and people kept upon those farms when they were used in tillage," &c. &c.; "and for that the defendant had then of late years taken into his owne occupation all the said farmes, and converted all the lands formerly used for tillage unto pasture, and had also *depopulated* and pulled downe three of the said farme-houses, and suffered the other two to run to ruin, and to lye uninhabited," &c. &c.; and for that the defendant had suffered the mill to go to decay, to the prejudice of a neighbouring town. "Upon grave and deliberate consideration, the court did, with a joynt consent and opinion, declare that the defendant was

* Depopulation, pp. 93-6.

clearly guilty of the said depopulation and conversion of arable land into pasture before expressed, and that the same offences were punishable even by the common law of this kingdom, and fit to be severely punished the rather for that it was a growing evil," &c. &c.; "and therefore their lordships did think fit to order, adjudge, and decree, that" the defendant should be committed to the Fleet prison, should pay a fine of four thousand pounds to the king, acknowledge his offences in open court at the next assizes for his county, that his sentence should be there publicly read, that he should pay the relator as recompense for his trouble one hundred pounds, besides costs of suit, another one hundred pounds to the minister, and a third one hundred pounds for the poor of the parish; and should, within two years, repair and build the farm-houses, and out-houses, and the mill, "fit for habitation and use, as they were before;" restore the lands formerly let with the farm-houses "unto the farme-houses again; and let and demise the same severall farmes to severall tenants for reasonable rents, such as the country would afford; and that all the said lands should be again plowed up and used to tillage as formerly it had been."—(pp. 84-89.)

The similarity between what is now every day occurring here and what formerly occurred in England is extremely striking. It being useless to refer to the early periods of British rule in this country, we shall draw our illustrations chiefly from the history of the last eighty years. It appears that, at the time of the Revolution, Ireland was "the most improved and improving spot of ground in Europe."* The measures adopted in William's reign for destroying her manufactures and commerce, first laid the foundation of her ruin. The people, thus driven from manufactures and commerce, had for their only resource the cultivation of the land; but this was soon virtually forbidden to such of them as were Catholics, by the enactment of the penal laws. The descriptions given of the annual famines, and fevers, and other disorders produced by this system of legislation, are most heart-rending and almost incredible. Prior to 1762 the poor bore their afflictions with all the patience and humility of martyrs. In that year they first resorted to outrage and insurrection as a means of redress. Their first act is sufficiently indicative of the cause of their turbulence, and

* Lord Sydney's speech from the viceregal throne, in 1692. *Irish Com. J.* vol. ii. p. 577.

of the object for which they confederated. "In the month of January 1762 the White Boys first appeared, and, in one night, DUG UP TWELVE ACRES OF RICH FATTENING GROUND, belonging to Mr. Maxwell, near Kilfinnan, in this county."* Though a special commission was immediately issued, and two men were hanged, the execution did not check the unfortunate people: the insurrection spread as extensively as the grievance, and became very alarming. The cause of the disturbance is thus narrated by a very eminent historian:—

"Various causes about this period concurred in reducing these forlorn peasantry to the most abject misery. An epidemic disorder of the horned cattle had spread from Holstein, through Holland, into England, where it raged for some years; and, in consequence, raised the prices of beef, cheese and butter, to exorbitancy. Hence pasturage became more profitable than tillage, and the whole agriculture of the south of Ireland, which had for some time past flourished under a mild administration of the Popery laws, instantly ceased; and numerous families, who were fed by the labour of agriculture, were turned adrift without means of subsistence. Cottiers being tenants at will were everywhere dispossessed of their scanty holdings, and large tracts of land were let to wealthy monopolisers, who by feeding cattle required few hands, and paid higher rents. Pressed by need, most of these unfortunate peasantry sought shelter in the neighbouring towns, to beg that bread which they could no longer earn; and the only piteous resource of the affluent was to ship off as many as would emigrate, to seek maintenance or death in foreign climes."†

Dr. Campbell in his *Philosophical Survey*, adds his testimony to that of Plowden, as to the principal cause of agrarian insurrection.

"After considering all this, yet seeing, at the same time, that the greater, and certainly the best part of what I have seen, instead of being in a progressive state of improvement, is verging to depopulation, and that the inhabitants are either moping under the sullen gloom of inactive indigence, or blindly asserting the rights of nature in nocturnal insurrections, attended with circumstances of ruinous devastation and savage cruelty; must we not conclude that there are political errors somewhere?.....There is no necessity for recurring to natural disposition, when the political constitution obtrudes upon us so many obvious and sufficient causes of the sad effects we complain of. The first of these is the suffering avarice to convert the arable land into

* History of Limerick, p. 129.

† Plowd. Hist. Rev. of the State of Ireland, vol. i. part 1, p. 336.

pasture. The evils arising from this custom in England were so grievous, that Henry VII enacted a statute to remedy them; but the mischief still continuing, Henry VIII revised all the ancient statutes, and caused them to be put into execution. Yet notwithstanding all this care, so great was the discontent of the people, occasioned by decay of tillage and increase of pasturage, that they rose in actual rebellion in the reign of Edward VI; and instigated by indigence and oppression, demolished in many counties the greatest part of the inclosures."

After observing that "the rebellion was not altogether fruitless," as it produced an inquiry into the cause of it, he quotes the proclamation of Edward VI, saying "it is so remarkably apposite to the present state of the south of Ireland, that I cannot forbear citing an extract or two from it;"—and recommends that a similar course should be adopted to repress the rapacity of the Irish landlords, and remove the misery that was the immediate and only cause of insurrection.—pp. 292-3, &c.

But though "the suffering of avarice to convert the tillage land into pasture," and depriving the people of the means of eking out a subsistence by the cultivation of the soil, were the obvious causes of insurrection, and had been met in England by the benevolent measures which we have above mentioned,—the hardhearted oligarchs of Ireland refused to listen to the complaints of the poor, and contented themselves with suppressing each successive insurrection with the sabre, the gibbet, and the transport-ship; thus, in the words of Grattan, "referring the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to Providence for relief." They passed coercion bill on coercion bill, and enforced marshal law with such frequency and severity, that it is only within the last ten years that the people have begun to look on themselves as British subjects, or bound to obey the established law a moment longer than there were troops to support it. From the treatment they received they could not but regard their rulers as their enemies, and their enactments as entitled to no more respect than the bye-laws of banditti.

In two preceding numbers of this Review (No. XIX, pp. 212-17; No. XX, pp. 519-37), so many authorities were collected, proving to demonstration that from the first agrarian insurrection in 1762, down to the last in 1840, each and every one was attributable solely to the oppressions of the landlords, their ejection of their tenants, and refusing them land even at the most exorbitant rents, to raise potatoes for their support,

that we must regard that as a proposition which can be no longer controverted; and we will, therefore, attend only to the system of legislation pursued on the subject by those who looked solely to the wishes of the landlords, and thought that every facility should be given to the process of *clearing* estates of their human incumbrances.

From 1793 to 1816, the poor enjoyed some intermission of oppression. When Catholics were restored to the franchise, those who were anxious for political influence, crowded their estates with forty shilling freeholders, and the great price of corn caused by the war, having rendered tillage more profitable than pasture, created employment for a great number of labourers. But as soon as the war prices had fallen, and the cultivation of corn had ceased to yield its prior extraordinary profits to the growers, pasture became more profitable than tillage, and sheep and oxen were thought to be more useful as well as ornamental occupants of the soil, than the wretched labourers, who had been collected on it, while their assistance was required to render it valuable. It was then, of course, necessary to enable the landed proprietors to *clear* their estates of the helots. Their happiness or misery was a question which it would have been beneath the dignity of their Spartan masters to take into consideration. They feared not their power—or, if they did, they knew that famine was a more effective, and according to modern notions a more feasible and reputable mode of destruction than the general massacres of earlier, but less hypocritical, generations. In 1816, a law was passed enabling landlords to recover possession of all tenements, on which the rent reserved did not amount to 20% a year, by summary process of ejectment, requiring only thirty days' notice before the assistant barrister at quarter-sessions.* In 1820, the amount of rent for which this summary process was allowed, was raised to 50%.† and as if this proceeding were not summary enough, in 1836, another act passed, reducing the interval between the service of the process and the time of trial from thirty to fifteen days.‡ The entire expense was, and is, considerably under 2%. Thus the greatest portion of the tenantry of Ireland can be dispossessed within one fortnight after they receive notice of their landlord's wish to get rid of them, and at an expense certain not to amount to two pounds.

* 56 Geo. III, c. 88.

† 1 Geo. IV. c. 41.

‡ 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 75.

When we consider the character of the courts, and the course of proceeding by which the system of extermination is carried on in this summary form, we shall see further reasons for wishing that such a jurisdiction never existed. Each court consists of a single judge called the assistant barrister, from being appointed to assist the magistrates in the discharge of their duties in criminal business. Up to the vice-royalty of the Marquis of Wellesley, the government always conceded the appointment to the county members*—thus making him the nominee at second-hand of the landed gentry, between whom and their unfortunate tenantry he was expected to preside as an independent and upright judge. He must be a barrister of six years' standing. He has a fixed salary of 400*l.* a year—but various small fees raise his annual receipts into sums varying in different counties, from perhaps 700*l.* to 1500*l.* Few men of station or business accept the office—and whenever any man rises while in it to station or business, he throws it up. It is generally looked upon in the same light as a mastership in Chancery—an hospital for invalids. The assistant-barristers decide all civil cases without the aid of a jury, except in a few instances where they may impanel two or three bystanders to arrange complicated accounts, or to estimate the credibility of conflicting testimony. The infallible rectitude of their decisions may be inferred from the fact, that Conservatives and Liberals alternately accuse them of determining all questions affecting the registries according to their *political bias*. In the exhibition of the good or bad qualities of their nature or education, they are not restrained by the presence of a vigilant and independent bar. As no fees are allowed for barristers, none attend; and as those allowed for attornies are the lowest ever yet offered in any country to professional men, no attornies attend except those who cannot get business elsewhere. The salutary influence which the presence of a good bar has on the conduct of the judges in the superior courts, here and in England, is well known; but here in all questions between the landed gentry and their poor victims, attornies of the humblest class are considered sufficient checks on the country justices and their chairmen. In the ejectment proceeding, also, there are no technical forms which can give the tenant a chance of success or respite. All that is necessary is a printed form settled by act of parliament, which when filled

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xliii. number for February 1826, art. 10.

up with the names of the plaintiffs and defendants, and a loose description of the subject of demand, serves at once for writ and declaration:—but as even in this some discrepancies occasionally occurred between the statement and the proof of the case, and it was necessary to give to all the occupants of a farm notice of their intended extermination, by the late act all such trifles are dispensed with, and the barrister is allowed to overrule all objections of form, and dispose of every poor man's property according to his notions of equity and conscience. Unfortunately, also, he gives very little time to his conscience to deliberate. It appears that the thirty-four barristers have 614,500 cases to decide in each year.* In 1825, Mr. O'Connell in his evidence before the committee on the state of Ireland, said, "as to the mode of proceeding in the civil bill-court, the hurry is excessive. There is no poetry in saying that justice is frightened away. Six thousand cases have been decided in a week. I am in my conscience thoroughly convinced, that if a society were instituted to discourage virtue, and countenance vice, it would have been ingenious indeed if it had discovered such a system as the assistant-barrister's court." This evidence we find cited with approbation in the *Law Magazine* (a periodical of strong Conservative tendencies), for May 1841, pp. 322-3.

It is impossible for any Englishman to form the remotest conception of the facilities, or rather provocatives, to ejectment afforded by this system—by the character of the court—the mode of trial—the absence of legal forms—the smallness of the expense—the ease with which a decree of ejectment might be obtained, or *stolen*, as the phrase went†—and the shortness of the time between the first service of the ejectment process, and the expulsion by the sheriff, police, and military, of the heartbroken tenantry, from the lands which they and their fathers had held for ages. We have looked in every quarter—in every parliamentary paper—for a return of the number of ejectments which have proceeded from the Quarter Session courts since this jurisdiction was first conceded to them—but in vain. We could find returns of every earthly character, except a reckoning of the oppressions of the poor. This stain on the character of our representatives will, we trust, be blotted out next session; in the mean time, we shall lay before our readers such details as we have been able to collect. The average number of ejectment

* *Law Magazine*, No. lii. p. 313.† *Ib.* p. 320.

processes in the county of Donegal, for the three years preceding May 1827, were 407 entered for trial, of which 237 were decreed, and 28 dismissed. For the three years ending in December 1826, in Roscommon, the entries for trial were 504, and the decrees thereon 329.† In 1836-7-8 more than 330 ejectment decrees issued from the Quarter Session court of Longford,* besides those from the superior courts. For the six years previous to 1833, the returns for Galway and Wicklow were—for Galway, entries (that is, processes entered for trial with the clerk of the peace) 507, decrees issued 401,—for Wicklow, entries 253, decrees issued 158. In Galway, in 1833, 161 civil bills were brought against 753 defendants; in 1834, 223 against 887 defendants; and, at the January sessions for 1832, one proprietor brought civil bills against 347 defendants, whose rents amounted together to only £522, and obtained decrees of possession against all. In Kilkenny, from 1827 to 1833, there were ejectment bills entered against 5293 defendants.‡ From the following tabular summary for the seventeen following counties, from 1827 to 1833, the reader will be able to form some conjecture as to the extent to which this system of extermination by the forms of law is carried. We give the summary as we find it in the second supplement to appendices D, E, and F, to the first Report of the Poor Law Enquiry Commissioners, p. 358. "Entries," at the head of the first column, means, as we have said already, the civil bills entered for trial with the clerk of the peace.

	Entries.	Decrees Issued.	No. of Dfts.
Mayo	... 835	... 460	... 2828
Sligo	... 540	... 301	... 1021
Carlow	... 279	... 189	... 719
Kilkenny	... 782	... 653	... 2305
King's Cross	... 418	... 199	... 987
Queen's Cross	... 619	... 372	... 1713
Longford	... 188	... 175	... 528
Louth, including Drogheda §	382	266	813
Meath	... 527	... 426	... 1302
Clare	... 738	... 312	... 1894
Cork	... 1429	... 947	... 2062

* App. to 17th Rep. on Courts of Justice in Ireland, pp. 56, 105-6.

† Digest of the Evidence before the Roden Committee, by D. Leahy, Esq. p. 10.

‡ Rep. Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Com. App. II, part 2, p. 30.

§ From Drogheda there was no return for 1828.

Cavan	...	...	1295	...	862	...	3842
Donegal	...	...	797	...	518	...	2250
Down	...	...	1102	...	669	...	2180
Fermagh	...	...	546	...	280	...	1382
Londonderry	...	...	1063	...	721	...	2427
Monaghan*	...	...	1123	...	—	...	2754

Altogether, the reader will find the number of defendants to be 31,007. If, then, he will reflect, that the other counties, from which no returns were made, had a far larger Catholic population than all these together; and that, in Tipperary alone, there are as many ejectments in one year, as in the average of the others for seven years, the depopulation being nothing less than wholesale, and the assistant-barrister himself having declared, before the late Roden Committee, that he had had more than 150 ejectments at one quarter sessions;† he will admit that the number of defendants for those seventeen counties did not amount to within 10,000 of those for the remaining thirteen. However, suppose them equal, and you have for all Ireland 62,000. Altogether you may take, at the lowest computation, including those expelled by process from the superior courts, 2,000 defendants, as the average number for each county, in every period of seven years, or about 285 annually; and, if you assume each defendant to represent a family of six persons, you will easily find the gross annual amount of individuals whom these courts drive to misery and despair.

However great the above number may at first sight appear to any one not practically acquainted with this country, we fear that it is rather under than over the mark, as it is founded on the returns from 1827 to 1833 inclusive, which cannot be equal to those for any subsequent period of seven years; for, since the 40s. freeholders were disfranchised in 1829, the landlords have been sweeping them off their properties, as if they were locusts: it is chiefly since that time we have heard of Protestant colonization societies, and the various other devices for substituting Protestant for Catholic tenants; since the introduction of poor-laws was rendered probable, the avarice of the landlords has been most powerfully stimulated, to clear their estates of those who might, at a subsequent period, become a permanent burden on the parish; by the late census, it appears that the population

* The number of decrees for Monaghan could not be made out.

† See Dublin Review, No. xx. p. 522.

has not increased in its former ratio; and, by the exports of cattle to England, which amounted, in 1826, to 57,000 head, and amount now to 180,000 annually,* it would seem, that the amount of land devoted to feeding cattle is now two-thirds more than it was in 1826. From what has been done in one county, the reader may judge of what has been done in all. In Meath, we learn from the Report of the Poor Inquiry commissioners, that, in one place, the holdings of twenty families, amounting to 164 acres, were given to two graziers; in another, those of fourteen families, occupying from five to fifteen acres each, were given to an individual already holding 800 acres; and, in a third place, those of twenty families were converted into one grass farm of 200 acres.† Thus, where there had been fifty-four families, there are now three graziers.

We shall now state what is the law in England on the subject of ejectment. By the policy of the common law, so well and deservedly described by Coke, as "the perfection of reason," and which, as we have already shown, made depopulation an unclergyable felony, every conceivable difficulty was thrown in the way of the landlord endeavouring to expel his tenantry, and everything doubtful was decided in their favour, and they were even frequently saved from ruin contrary to the express stipulations into which they had entered. For the last two centuries the legislature and the courts in both countries have been removing the difficulties which formerly beset the landlords' path, in prosecuting ejectment, until now it is as smooth, and short, and easy, in England, as it is desirable to make it, with security to the tenant, and advantage even to the landlord; and until, in Ireland, all tenants, at rentals less than 50*l.* a year, are deprived of all protection from the law, and left entirely at the mercy of the landlord. However, in England, up to the present reign, they had never allowed a man to be deprived of his property by any summary proceeding, except only in one case, where the rent reserved being a rack-rent, or, at least, "full three-fourths of the yearly value of the demised premises," and the tenant being in arrear for a whole year's rent (11 Geo. II, c. 19, s. 16), or a half-year's (57 Geo. III, c. 52), should desert the premises, and leave no sufficient goods for a distress. In such a case, by the above statutes,

* McCulloch's "Memorandums on the proposed importation of foreign beef and live cattle." London: 1842.

† Append. H, part 2, p. 23.

two justices might make a view of the premises,—post a notice of the day, at least fourteen days distant, on which they would make a second view,—and then, if no one appeared for the tenant, put the landlord into possession. An appeal was given to the next judge of assize; or, if in Middlesex, to the King's Bench or Common Pleas. This statute was so little known or enforced, that, in *Adams on Ejectment*, we find it mentioned merely in a note, as an act which “it may be useful to notice;” and that we have been able to find only a few decisions in the superior courts bearing upon it. This was the only case in which a landlord could recover his lands, except through the assistance of the superior courts, up to the accession of her majesty. By the 1 & 2 Vict. c. 74, two justices are enabled to give the landlord possession, where the tenant holds over after the expiration of the tenancy; but in cases only where the tenancy is at will, or for not more than seven years, and at no rent, or a rent not exceeding 20*l.*, and without any fine. It was under the powers of this act that a couple of Surrey magistrates gave Punter's cottage to lord Grantley, and that that nobleman's bailiffs pulled it down, precisely as such things are done every day in Ireland. Yet strange, we believe that that one case, and that levelling of that poor man's cottage, excited a greater sensation in England than all the thousand cases of extermination and levelling that have ever occurred here. All England rang with the sufferings of the man who was deprived of his cottage without a regular proceeding at law, and by a couple of magistrates at petty sessions: he was encouraged to bring an action—obtained 250*l.* damages from a common jury; and when the noble lord, having got a new trial, on the ground of the damages being excessive, and submitted his case to a special jury, under the fancy that they would be a little more lenient to him than a common jury, the verdict was 275*l.*; one of the jury declaring expressly, that the additional 25*l.* was for interest on the detention of the 250*l.* awarded by the first verdict. Since that time few persons have attempted to avail themselves of the provisions of that statute, and still fewer magistrates have been willing to assist them. The Whig government proposed last year in their Local Courts Bill, to give the new courts jurisdiction between landlord and tenant in cases where the rent not exceeding 20*l.*, and the term having expired, or been determined by a notice to quit, the tenant should refuse to deliver up possession. We shall content ourselves with one speci-

men of the views of Englishmen on this proposition. A writer in the *Law Magazine* for May 1841, after comparing the proposed courts with the Irish Civil Bill Courts, says, "The Irish Civil Courts, we repeat, have been made the most expeditious engines of oppression and extermination that were ever yet tolerated in any country making pretensions to Christianity or civilization;"—he then gives a summary of the Irish Civil Bill ejectment system; and adds, "By this system the landlords have been enabled to effectuate those extensive and extraordinary clearances which occasionally attract attention even at this side of the channel. The unfortunate tenantry, taken by surprise, through the shortness of the notice, unable to pay their rents, or to adopt the proper measures for availing themselves of the few and slender chances of defence left them in the Assistant Barrister's Court, are voted out of their possessions, in a style and fashion of which no one can have any conception who has not seen seven or eight ejectment cases disposed of in half an hour; and then, in the characteristic wanton perversity of their nature, they refuse to bow down and worship the majesty of British law, and resist the execution of the decrees of the courts of—justice! Now, could any man conceive that the day should ever come when a British minister could be found to propose the adoption of the same system for the people of this country? Gravely to propose that every man in this country paying not more than 20*l.* yearly rent, might be turned out of his home by the vote of a single judge, and on ten days' notice? Such is Mr. Fox Maule's proposition." After stating the precise nature of this proposition, the writer observes—"The inevitable result of these provisions will be to place every poor man who cannot get sureties to pay the cost of an action, at the mercy of every scoundrel who may wish to take advantage of these sapient specimens of cheap justice legislation—to make the poor of this country as much serfs and slaves as the Irish have been, and to produce among them the same misery and oppression, and consequently the same turbulent resistance to the law which have characterized the Irish."—(pp. 328-9-30.) Such are the views of Conservative Englishmen on the extension to their country of the system of ejectment which has prevailed here for the last quarter of a century.

We are not without English authority for saying that this system is too bad even for the Irish. Mr. Bicheno in his "Ireland and its Economy" (p. 164), says, "It admits, I think, of more than doubt, whether the system which England has

pursued of strengthening the hands of the gentry against the tenantry on every occasion, contributes to bring about a reconciliation between them. Whatever increases the power of the landlord is employed, first or last, to draw more rent from the land. Profit being almost all he aims at, every new project is favoured, as it assists him to obtain this end. The laws in his favour are already more summary and stronger than they are in England; and he is yet calling for additional assistance. The ejectment of a tenant here is a tedious and difficult process, which usually takes the best portion of a year, and sometimes longer; and costs a sum of money so considerable, that landlords are very generally deterred from the proceeding." After mentioning some of the many acts which enable the Irish landlords to exercise greater powers over their tenantry than the English landlords possess, he observes, that "every fresh law exonerates the proprietors more from the necessity of cultivating the good opinion of their dependants: and, moreover, removes the odium of any oppression from the individual, who ought to bear it, to the state:" and cites Mr. O'Connell's evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825, to the effect that "before the Civil Bill ejectment was allowed by act of parliament, a landlord was cautious of bringing an ejectment; for even if defence was not made it would cost him fourteen or fifteen pounds, at the cheapest, to turn out a tenant; but the Civil Bill ejectment has very much increased the power of the lower landlord, for by means of that he can turn out his tenant for a few shillings"—and that it had, consequently, increased the tendency to disturbance. Thus we find a disinterested and impartial Englishman adopting Mr. O'Connell's evidence in corroboration of his own independent convictions.

Reflect for a moment on the extraordinary contrast between the positions of the owners and occupants of the soil in both countries. In England, where the landlords and tenants are on the best possible terms, where the landlords are invariably the friends of the tenantry, where both regard each other as fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, where the landlords are not disposed to tyrannize, or to *clear their estates*, they cannot recover possession of their lands without going through the somewhat tedious process of an action of ejectment in the superior courts. Thus the title of the tenant is rendered secure; he has time to guard against the caprices of a tyrant; he cannot be taken by surprise; and the landlord is deterred, by the expense, hazard, and delay of an action, from indulging his passions, speculations, or

aversions. But, in Ireland, where the state of both parties is precisely the reverse, where the landlord generally hates his tenantry, and looks on them as his natural enemy, where he has not the slightest regard for their happiness or welfare; where political and religious rancour are continually exciting him to *clear off* the papist paupers; where art and nature combine to make him regard them as mere brutes, designed for no nobler purpose than to make high rents for their Egyptian taskmasters; every facility is given him to indulge his malignity, his avarice, his whims, and speculations. Instead of waiting for the process of an ejectment through the superior courts, he can at once take any tenant by surprise and eject him, before he has time, perhaps, to cut the corn wherewith to make his rent, or, if cut, to prepare it for market, or to secure a home or a shelter elsewhere, or, in short, according to the common phrase, to look about him. In one fortnight the landlord can turn him and his industrious family on the world, pennyless, houseless beggars, and then cant about the rights of property, the necessity of vindicating the law, the beauties of political economy, and the dangers of a superabundant population. Such is the wretched state of the Irish cottiers and farmers. Those who have not the slightest sympathy with their sufferings,—not the slightest interest in their welfare,—but every inducement to gratify against them all the passions of unpropitiable tyrants, are enabled by the legislature to riot in all the wantonness of despotism. And when the legislature has thus, in defiance of the dictates of charity, humanity, sound policy, and justice, and in reliance solely on its military superiority to enforce obedience to its enactments, made all the laws for the advantage of the landlord, and the oppression and extermination of the tenantry, can we wonder if the latter should resort to the same brute force in self-defence?

Let us appeal for a moment to the gentry of England, Whig and Conservative, and ask on what grounds do they support the Irish landlords in the commission of exactions and cruelties, by which they would consider themselves eternally disgraced? Why do they give the Irish landlords powers over their tenants which they do not ask for themselves? Having secured to the Irish landlords all the property of the native Irish, ought they not to compel them to treat it as all landed property is treated in England? Are they to allow the landlords to keep the country for ever in a state of civil war? It will not do for them to say that they will not interfere at all, for they have already interfered too much; and it is they who have passed all the statutes of

which we now complain. Neither will it do to say that it is a question between Irish and Irish, and that they must leave the landlords to their own good feelings;—for they know that the landlords are, for the most part, a mixture of English and Scotch, with, like all mixed breeds, all the bad qualities of each, and none of the good qualities of either race; and that Ireland can claim no more kindred with them than Prometheus could with the vultures that preyed upon his vitals. If the Irish landlords insist that they have a right to do what they like with their own, let them answer that they are content, but that they will repeal all the laws passed since confiscations gave them their titles, and leave them only the same remedies at law which they enjoyed on the first acquisition of the property. If they will not interfere to compel the Irish landlords to act like gentlemen and Christians,—if they will still persist in setting the dictates of charity, policy, and justice at defiance,—if they will use their military superiority solely for the purpose of giving the sanction of legal forms to oppressions and extortions, such as it would be a disgrace to human nature that any people could bear without resistance,—if they will continue to treat the Irish poor worse than ever the Jews were treated by Pharaoh, the Helots by the Spartans, or the Fellahs of Egypt by the Turks;—must they not expect that their victims, driven to desperation, will oppose force to force, and carry on from time to time, for self-preservation, a sort of Guerilla warfare, called, in the language of the victors, agrarian insurrection?

We are not aware of the nature of the measures which Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Crawford, intend to propose next session, for remedying the evils arising from the present relations between landlords and tenants in this country. We have no doubt, but that they will be well adapted for the ends which they are designed to attain—but we fear much, that by going too far, and being too good, they may be lost altogether to the country. Should this be their fate, we would recommend to these gentlemen then to take up some one of the Tudor husbandry acts, and ask the parliament to revive and extend it to Ireland. If the legislature refuse even that demand, they might then ask them at least to repeal all those recent statutes which give the landlords here facilities of ejectment, which are not enjoyed by the landlords of England; and if they should find it difficult to procure the total and permanent repeal of them, they might at least ask the government to try what might be the effect of their suspen-

sion for four or five years on the peace of the country. It is not probable that the government would refuse so reasonable a request. The landlords could not complain. None of their vested interests would be affected. The laws of property would not be overturned. That perennial bugbear the Constitution would be unscathed—and, in short, they would not be prevented from doing what they liked with their own—but could only do so in the same manner as the landlords of England. We believe that Mr. O'Connell has no occasion to fear a repulse on such a demand from the present government. The English Conservatives have been hitherto the most decided opponents of the oppressions of the Irish landlords. Mr. Sadler denounced them with as much vehemence as Captain Rock himself could. The quotation from the *Quarterly Review*, in our number for February 1841, could not be surpassed in indignant denunciation of their rapacity. The Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, who is generally considered one of the principal conductors of that periodical, and whom from his long absence from this country, we may now set down as an English Conservative, when first he went to London, wrote a work on the condition of the Irish peasantry, which a literary friend once declared to us was the best, most vigorous, and scathing exposure of the iniquities of the Irish landlords that he had ever read. It was soon withdrawn, and we have never been able to get a copy. Lord Stanley is the best landlord in Tipperary. Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey is an excellent landlord. Sir Robert Peel is the first British minister who ever yet doubted publicly the righteousness and propriety of the exterminating system, and we have strong hopes, that he will soon give the Irish landlords as good lessons in "moral principle and Christian duty,"* as he has given his entire party in common sense, and political and commercial reform. Already the Conservatives have struck the most effectual blow at the depopulating system, by the admission of foreign meat and cattle into the home and colonial markets. It was the great profits of pasturage, that hitherto deprived so many poor men of employment, and prevented them from getting land at even 8*l.* or 10*l.* an acre to raise potatoes for themselves and their families.† This was one of the checks to the rapacity of the "land-sharks," which always forced itself on the attention of every one who was practically acquainted with the condition of the poor. We ourselves (the writer of this paper), feel some pleasure in

* See the quotation from his excellent speech in our twentieth number, p. 525.

† See Abstract of Evidence, by D. Leahy, Esq., p. 2.

having demonstrated its efficacy three years since,* when almost all writers seemed to be carried away with the then current notions about emigration and suberabundant population, and all such nonsense. Mr. O'Connell himself has hailed the new tariff in this light. Why then should he fear repulse from the present government, if he should attempt to carry out his own long-established conviction, that the landlords of Ireland should have no greater powers of oppressing or ejecting their tenants, than the English landlords enjoy? And never could he demand the suspension of these ejectment statutes with a better grace than from the present government, and at the present moment—for in justice and mercy they are bound to afford some protection, or at least some breathing time, to the tenantry, whom by the operation of the new tariff they have rendered unable to pay the rents contracted during the former high prices. We believe that not one tenant in ten will be henceforth able to pay his former rent—and if then the government allow the landlords to eject them by wholesale for not paying rents which the government themselves have disabled them from paying, on whose head will the guilt be when they resort to outrage for that protection which is denied them by their rulers? But we cannot anticipate such conduct on the part of the government. Should they, however, refuse so just and reasonable a demand, we cannot conceive it possible that they should oppose a motion for a committee to enquire into the relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland. Such an inquiry, which would be the first, strange as it may appear, ever held on the subject by the Irish or the Imperial Parliament, would disclose such a series of crimes on the part of the landlords, as would excite a burst of indignation from one end of England to the other, and compel any ministry to put some check to their iniquities. But whatever the present or any other ministry may be inclined to do, we have not a doubt, but that Mr. O'Connell, if he turn his attention vigorously to the subject, will soon procure some redress. He has never yet failed in any thing on which he fairly set his mind, and we are confident that he cannot fail in a cause so righteous and holy as this.

But even supposing, which is very improbable, that the legislature will refuse all interference, let our readers recollect the light in which depopulation is viewed at common law—which common law, we need scarcely tell them, is the same in both countries—and ask themselves if a body of “Irish

* In the Monthly Chronicle for November 1839.

Papists" were by some means to get possession of a few counties of England, and were to commence expelling their English tenantry, would not the provisions of that law—however much they may now appear to have fallen into desuetude—be at once appealed to; and would not Coke, and Noy, and Hale, and Staunforde, and the Star-Chamber, be summoned up to convict them? Let us also observe, that the 4 Hen. VII, c. 19, having been extended to Ireland by Poyning's law, the 10 Hen. VII, c. 22, and not having been repealed here before the Union, or by the Imperial Parliament since, is still the law of the country, and that wherever the head landlord is opposed to the nefarious system of extermination, this statute will enable him to repress it; and even should he not enforce its provisions, it is a well-known principle of law, that an indictment will lie for an offence prohibited by a statute, though that mode of punishment be not mentioned in it, and a pecuniary penalty be provided by it.

Perhaps some of our readers fancy that we over estimate the advantages derivable from reducing the Irish landlords to a level with the English, as to the power of ejecting their tenantry. We are well aware that this is a very poor remedy indeed—but it is the most practical and useful that we think the British Parliament are likely to pass. Let us see what would most probably be its effect in this country. The expense of proceeding to execution against each defendant, through the Superior Courts, would be at least 20% on the average. This, according to our former calculation of the number of defendants, would cause an annual expense of 5,700% in each county, and 182,400% for all Ireland—and a gross expense, on the average of every seven years, of 1,234,480%. Can any one fancy that the landlords would be insane enough to carry on their exterminating litigation on such a large scale if it were attended with such expense? But try it as against an individual landlord. We commonly see in the newspapers accounts of 100 or 200, and sometimes 300 processes having been served by one landlord on his tenants for one sessions. We have seen, by the reports of the Poor Inquiry Commissioners, that one proprietor brought civil bill ejectments against 374 defendants, all whose rents amounted to only 522%., at one sessions, at Galway. Is it conceivable that he would run a-muck at once against so many if he should thereby expose himself to an expense of 6,940%? But it is not only the expense of success that would deter them from such proceedings—but also the expense of possible defeat, and paying, perhaps, to a tenant's attorney, as much money in costs as would cover many a year's rent. The

tenant, too, would have several chances of success in the Superior Courts from niceties in pleading, practice, and evidence, of which he is now altogether deprived in the Quarter Session Court.

While the denunciations of the early Reformers are still fresh in our recollection, we would beg of their successors in this country to imitate their example, and would say to them: Endeavour to forget that you are the chaplains of the military owners of the soil: look on yourselves as ordained to teach the truths of the Gospel to all, without distinction of rank or race. When you see any of your congregation about to drive a poor family, houseless beggars on the world, be not ashamed to tell them what Latimer, Lever, Jewel, Gilpin, and Crowley would have told them—gloss not over their oppressions, but condemn them boldly before the assembled parishioners; tell them that there is in reality a God in heaven, who attends to the groanings of even the Irish poor: tell them with the Apostle, that without charity, faith and hope are as nothing: remind them of Him, who will say, “Come unto me, you blessed of my Father, for I was hungry, and you fed, I was naked and you clothed me, I was thirsty and you gave me to drink,” &c., and do not indulge in vague speculations in the metaphysics of theology, to make them fancy that if they believe whatever doctrines you conceive best calculated to take them to heaven, they can ever go there if their practices be those of demons in human form; recollect, if you really wish to convert the population to your religion, you can never succeed while you allow, without rebuke, those who profess your doctrines to act as they have hitherto acted—and above all things, remember that plain people must judge of the tree by its fruit, and that if that Established amongst them produce nothing but avarice, extortion, oppression, and all uncharitableness, they must conclude it to be an offshoot of the parent trunk of all these.

In conclusion, we would say to the statesmen of England—If you wish to secure the peace of Ireland and its permanent connexion with England, rescue its poor from the greedy gripe of the landlords, and suffer not these to pursue the career of exaction and extermination which they have so long followed; else, in the words of that honest-hearted Reformer, Robert Crowley, “if you let these things pass and regard them not, be ye sure the Lord shall confound your wisdom. Invent, decree, establish, and authorize what you can, all shall come to nought. The ways that you shall invent to establish unity and concord shall be the occasions of discord.

The things whereby you shall think to win praise through all the world, shall turn to your utter shame; and the ways you shall invent to establish a kingdom shall be the utter ruin of the same."

Note to p. 507, Vol. XII.—Review of the Life of Frederick the Great.

IN our article on Frederick the Great, our readers will recollect that we referred to the opinion of Mercier, that D'Alembert, in his correspondence, applied the phrase "*écrasez l'infame*" to our blessed Redeemer. We find that a reference to this passage in our pages is contained in a notice of D'Alembert, which will be found in the Biographical Dictionary recently commenced under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge. It appears to us that the writer in the Biography has sufficiently shown that the phrase was not intended to be applied to our blessed Saviour, and consequently, that the opinion of Mercier to which we alluded is erroneous. As we should be most unwilling to circulate, without refutation, any opinion which will not stand the test of investigation, we think it right to insert this note, in order that we may do all that lies in our power to relieve the memory of D'Alembert from so dreadful an imputation, regretting, at the same time, that so large a burden of guilt should still rest upon his memory.

"The first time the phrase is used is in Voltaire to D'Alembert, of June 23, 1760; we give the original:—"Je voudrais bien que vous écrassiez l'infame; c'est là le grand point. Il faut la réduire à l'état où elle est en Angleterre . . . vous pensez bien que je ne parle que de la superstition; car pour la religion, je l'aime et la respecte comme vous." D'Alembert to Voltaire, May 4, 1762: "Ecrasez l'infame, me répétez-vous sans cesse; eh mon Dieu, laissez-la se précipiter elle-meme, elle y court plus vite que vous ne pensez." Voltaire to D'Alembert, February 13, 1764: "Ils (les philosophes) ne détruiront certainement pas la religion Chrétienne, mais le Christianisme ne les détruira pas . . . la religion deviendra moins barbare et la société plus douce. Ils empêcheront les prêtres de corrompre la raison et les bons mœurs. Ils rendront les fanatiques abominables, et les superstitieux ridicules . . . travaillez donc à la vigne, écrasez l'infame." The unvarying use of the feminine article in conjunction with the word "infame" is by itself alone destructive of the peculiarly offensive meaning with which it has been construed. The first time it occurs, it is with a desire to reduce the "infâme" to the state in which she was in England; and, be it observed, the recommendation to crush "the infamous" (the reader may put his own substantive) occurs in one place in the same paragraph with a declaration that the philosophers would certainly not destroy the Christian religion."

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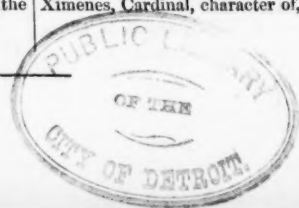
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